

THE
PARALLEL:

OR,

The New Specious Association

AN

Old Rebellious Covenant,

Closing with a Disparity between

A TRUE

PATRIOT,

AND

A Factionous Associator,

John Northleigh D43 41.2814

L O N D O N,

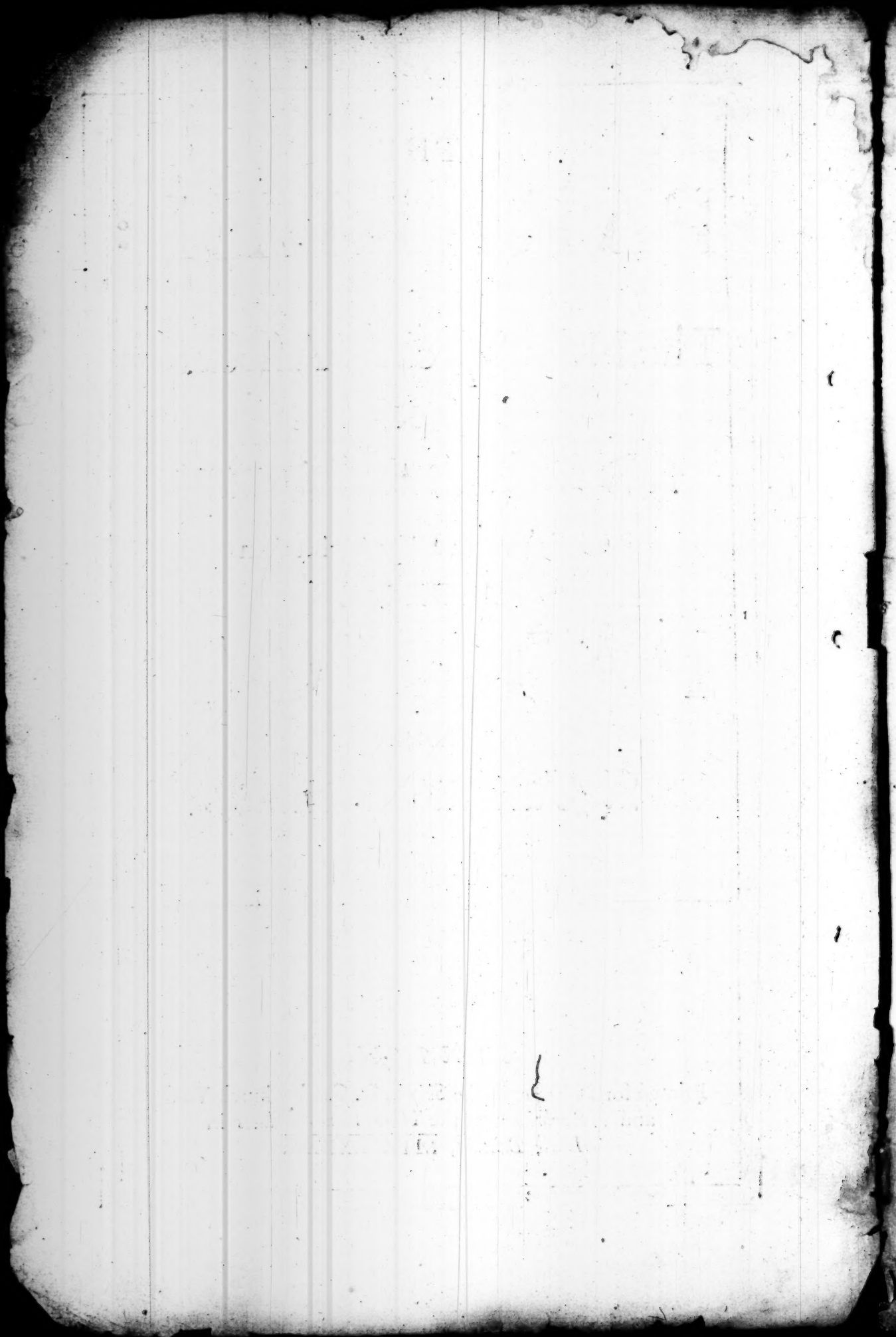
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The Parallel.

NEver did a piece of Villany deserve sharper Animadversion, or the Contriver of it more severity; and both I fancy might have had their deserts already, did not the grossness of the Treason, almost supersede reflection, and the greatness of the Traytor exempt him from Punishment; so that there is even a sort of necessity severely to reflect on such a horrid Contrivance; as onely by the boldness of its being undertaken, seems to dare and provoke it; and presume upon an *Impunity*, from the very *greatness* of its *guilt*; and this enormity of the Subject may serve to make this Paper a palatable sort of scribble, though the superfluity of so many Pamphlets is enough to make it nauseous: But the Author of it desires as little to be known, as that of the *Association*; and therefore comes into the World, as some late Criminals out of Prison, with an *Ignoramus*. But with this advantage, That if the one were detected, no Law would make him lose so much as one of his *Ears*; whilst it would adjudge the other to forfeit his *Head*; I mean those Laws that are still the same, though the Justice of them be perverted; That Justice which our kind Prince diffuses indeed like a mighty Stream, but is still swallowed up in the Gulph of that unfathomable thing, call'd a *Conscience*; That arrogant conceit of doing well, of doing *God* good service and the *King*, though it be in committing *Sacrilege*, and commencing *Rebel*; That prodigious Paradox, that unintelligible Lump of Contradiction, which now can huddle together a guilty piece of Innocence, make Teafon a species of Loyalty; Saint and Rebel, Terms Equivocal or even Homonymous; and with the most unreasonable part of Logick unite the most opposite Shapes, patch up a Centaure in imagination; make a fantastick Monster leap up with a thought, and with an extravagant conceit, jumble together that hotch-potch Animal, that Heterogeneous Composition of an *Honest Knave*. Certainly these Dictates of *Conscience* can now no longer be call'd Inspiration, or the suggestions even of common sense, much less he impulses of a reasonable soul, (for as some rapt Zealots would have them thought,) the Spiritual Infusions of Euthusiasm and Revelation, when they shall preposterously suggest the greatest Criminals innocent, and acquit by the Sentiments of a few Men, those whom almost Mankind condemns.

To reflect here a little on the proceedings of our late *Juries*, is so far pertinent to this discourse, as they themselves seem a band of covenanted *Associators*, such as would have acquitted the Factious Inditer of this *Association*, had they found him musing on it at his Desk, with an imperfect draught of the bloody Scheme in his hand, and blowing up the Government with his dangerous Ammunition of Pen, Ink, and Paper; such as would have cleared a *Protestant Joyner*, had they seized him with his hands on his Majesty; and would rather reason themselves out of Sense, then such a Villain out of his Life; and what is the greatest Paradox, still conceit themselves *Honest-men* and *True*, whatever all the World thinks to the contrary. I fancy such disaffected creatures will think me but an improper Animadverter on the Subject in hand, who am so easie and credulous a fool, as to believe the ridiculous design of seizing his Majesty, and the strange Paradox of a *Presbyterian-Plot*. As for the first, I will tell these merry Gentlemen, they onely make it ridiculous, by laughing at it; and though it is not probable that they would have served his Majesty like a little diminutive King at Chefs; huddl'd him up into a Bag, and so march't off with the Prize; yet Mr. *Colledge* had provided, I think, a Sack for him, in his emblematical representations of the Monarchy, and trussed him upon should-

ders too in his Pictures ; But, to speak seriously, I can't see the ridiculousness of keeping a King Prisoner, till those Bills are extorted into Laws by his Confinement, which were never like to meet with his Royal Assent without such a Constraint. And instead of thinking such designs but the *deliriums* of a crack't Scull, I should rather imagine them the politicks of their hot Brains : especially when the proceedings of their very Fore-fathers, makes them so good Statesmen, and tickles the young Heirs, with the pleasant thoughts how bravely their Grandfathers domineer'd with their Proposals, o're the poor Prince at *Holmby*.

Then my thoughts of the *Presbyterian-Plot* are briefly thus. That though we cannot detect any private Commissions to raise Forces ; yet we have as much ground to believe it as the *Popish* one, in which there has not one Commission been found amongst all the seiz'd Papers, notwithstanding so many sworn to be delivered ; and this I urge, not as detracting from the certainty of the latter, the Generals of which I believe as much as my Creed, but onely to shew that such Gentlemen ought not to be so partial to their own Cause, as to make that an argument in their own defence, which by no means they can allow in another's. And there may be a complicated Conspiracy, though not proved with an actual Rebellion, and which I am apt to believe has been carrying on, ever since the death of the *Protector*, as well as the other ever since the decease of *Queen Mary* ; but however, if I mistake not, we have of late met with many detections of their overt-acts, to subvert the Government, besides those by-tricks of Libelling, and defaming it ; witness only, this *Association* at present, because 'tis to be the subject of this Discourse ; And now I believe they understand of what kind of Principles I am compos'd of, what Sentiments I have of their *Plots*, which whether rational or no, they must not Judge because Party : and then what wonder is it, if the detection of their Conspiracies, and the Punishment of the Delinquents be so difficult to be compass'd, when both must lye in the breast of such as seem to espouse the Prisoner's Cause, and with a resolved sort of incredulity to believe neither Evidence on Oath, matter of Fact, or their own Sences ? What wonder is it if His Majesty, cannot have the Common Justice they distribute to their private selves ; to every *Tyler*, or *Jack Straw*, that has but a Property to a Stall, a Shop, a Tool, or a green Apron ; when these Gentlemen of the Yard and Tool, themselves must decide the Controversie ; who I warrant you will be sure to take more care of their own *Propertie*, than of his *Prerogative* ? But are these all the thankful Acknowledgments His Majesty must expect for His Gracious Charter ? Must the *King's* Enemies be spar'd, because the *Cities* Friends ? Must he by giving, pass himself into a *Donative* ? By his own Grant, seclude himself from the benefit of the very Laws he gives *Life* too ? And must those Immunities, and Priviledges he gives them for their Liberty, be used by those ungrateful Wretches as *Spoils* and *Trophies* of his *Prerogative* ? Certainly from such Proceedings as these, what other deduction can be made by sober thoughts, but that they declare an open defiance to the Government ; that they will stand to their City Charter, and their Arms together ; and seal it just as the Great one was by the Barons in *Blood* ?

From those partial interpretations of Guilt and Innocence, what can an indifferent person think, but that the abused name of *Conscience*, is applied onely now to the Capriciousness of Fancy ; subjects only Patriots and Rebels, according to the diversity of thought ?

The King a Nurfing Father, as long as his politick Sons will think him so, transform'd into a *Tyrant*, as soon as they please to conceit otherwise ; the naked Hulk of the State, sail'd by Popish Pyrates, when every froward Fool does not sit at the Helm ; and the Convocation of the Church, a Conclave of Cardinals, when each dissenting Ass can't commence a Prolocutor. I have observ'd the Seat and Empire of the Soul, or at least the several Faculties of it, by the grave Sages in Philosophy, to have been confin'd to such Apartments in the Body, as were most adapted for the Faculty that was to be exerted in it ; and accordingly, Reason is circumscribed within the Compass of the *Medullinum*, and Sphere of the Brain ; the Appetitive Soul placed in
the

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the Breast; the Sensitive in the Nerves; and all Passion in the Heart. If these are warrantable conjectures, I don't see but I may with as much Reason, and Philosophy, place some Mens *Consciences* in their Stomachs; because it is disposed by the help of its Fibres, to contract, or dilate it self, according as the more scrupulous, or bolder Animal, shall direct his intentions; oft straining at a Gnat, as if it were to take a Potion; whilst Camels and Elephants are swallowed without a Grimace, and go down like their Sack-pollert: This helps them to slip down Oaths, with a more than *Jesuitical* dexterity; to make an Explanation of a Test, after it is in their Bellies; or if it will not digest with that preposterous piece of Cookery, 'tis but playing a Juggler's trick, and bringing it up like their pieces of Inkle; sometimes imitating the squeamish Maw of a Cormorant, taught to throw up all; sometimes that of another sort of Fowl, which is said to concoct Iron and Stones; And all this irreconcilable proceeding, carried on without the least Dispensation of Reason, or Religion; and consequently less warrantable than the damn'd Equivocations of *Priests* and *Jesuits*; their blind opinion of some Supream Powers, Absolution, and Indulgence, somewhat extenuates the guilt of those perjur'd Villains; whilst every Man's prejudiced Opinion, pretends here to be its own absolver; the sole Measures of all Guilt, and Innocence; and the Lawful Standard both to good and bad actions: And then, what wonder is it, if the Proceedings of the *King*, and the Advice of his *Council*, are exposed as light and empty; when they must be weighed in the pois'd Ballance of every prejudiced Noddle, that has but one grain of Sence more, of Loyalty less, than his list'ning Rabble; the result of whose judgment is Reverenc'd as an Oracle, by the silly Rout, each Seditious expression treasur'd up as a politick Aphorism, and the bold Dictator like a pleasant piece of Pageantry, riding Cock-horse on the Shoulders of the Mobile; in a confus'd noise of Shouts and Acclamations, and all the wild Representations of a distracted People.

I hope by this Preliminary discourse, to have prevented the farther, perusal of the rest, by any that find themselves gall'd, or prick'd, with the consciousness of their meriting any of the past reflexions; for such persons though partial enough to themselves, hard to be perswaded, especially of any thing that looks like *Guilty*, are commonly a little troubled to be thought so; and for such disaffected Readers, 'tis a kindness both to them and the Author, to be civilly nettled in the beginning, lest by a gentler stile, they should be decoy'd to the end; and then rail at him with as much rage, and indignation, as they use against the Government; Christen him for a Popish Dog, and *Irish* Bogg-Trotter; when otherwise, perhaps, he may escape with the gentler Animadversions of a Malicious Ass, and Scribbling Fool.

But the harshest of such peoples Judgment, and Censure, will be superseded by their own ignorance or prejudice; and this Paper allow'd to speak *Truth*, though it don't carry in its Front an impudent *Lye*, or a *Vox Veritatis*; thought to have somewhat of Judgment and Reason in it, though not subscrib'd by a *Theophilus Rationalis*. Those Juggling tricks of putting off Lies, and Nonsense, and making the first Page a *Confutation* of all the rest.

And now to begin with this complicated piece of Rebellion, smoothly carried on, under the specious name of an *Association*; the Method I shall observe, shall as much as possible, make the Contents correspond with the Title Page, and not, like some, let the first Leaf quarrel with the whole Pamphlet. And,

I. We shall shew the most undeniable agreeableness of this Association, with all the old Leagues, and Covenants; in circumstances of Time, and Affairs.

II. Their affinity in Matter, Form, and Words, and draw the Parallel even~

even to Demonstration; with a little Comment on each Paragraph:
And answering Objections, they use to defend it:

And lastly, Shew the disparity between a True Patriot, and a Factious Associator; and that his expelling the Duke, is no such Evidence of his loving his Countrey.

That this Paper was penn'd at a time, when the unhappy Differences between the King, and his Commons were in their highest ferment; won't be question'd by the very Bigots of the Cause, unless they intend to doubt of the Author's Prudence too; who, without doubt, is a person of as politick a Head, as ever brooded on the Elements of Treason, or hatch'd a Rebellion: And if not at present restrain'd, more by some State-maxims, than Loyal Principles; could raise a more formidable one, than the late Covenanted Banditti, dispersed at Bosworth-Bridge; So that in the very seasonable Contrivance of it, it Parallels the ingenuity of the old Rebellious Scot, who drew up theirs in as convenient a Season; when the Nation seem'd Unanimous enough to Rebel, without drawing up of a formal League of Gueranty, of cheating poor deluded Souls into the miserable necessity of fighting against their Prince, or being perjur'd for him: But this mutual Agreement was thought then most effectual to secure their Designs, as if they had distrusted of not being Traytors enough, unless their Treasons were divulg'd with a publick *Manifesto*; and a sort of *Noverint Universi*; or that the Conspiracy would have look'd more Black and Hellish, by being acted under-board, and in the dark.

Whoever was the bold Contriver of this *Association*, certainly had no intent to let it lie long in a *Closet*, only to keep the *Rats*, and *Mice* from falling out; or persuade them to a Union against their common Enemies, the *Cats*, and *Weasels*; the purport of the thing shews the intent, that it was to be communicated; and to such a Party too, as by their own confidence they boast the mightiest, and most numerous; which if it were really so, their licentiousness is such, that I am apt to believe, instead of keeping it in *Closets*, some of them would have got it read at *Crosses*, and *Market-places*; proclaim'd it like some *Bartholomew Show*, and with Drums and Trumpets gull'd the silly Rout into Rebellion, as fast as the Fools use to croud into the Booth: But 'tis shrowdly to be suspected, they are aw'd still into good manners, and civility. Sure, otherwise, it were but a panick fear, so much to dread those *Guards*, could they make so little resistance.

They would not be look't on with such *Terror*, and *Amazement*, as is express'd in their *Oath*; if they would but suffer these *Frogs* to fill the King's Chambers, with their harsh and discontented Murmurings, as they did the *Agyptians* once, with their Croakings: These little Democraticks, the scum of those beggarly Elements, Mud, and Water; still as mean as the one, and restless as the other; and with their *Brethren* in the Apologue, presently Petitioning their *Jupiter* for a new King, as soon as weary of the old: Could these timorous Rats but get these dreadful *Guards*, truly to represent *Aesop's Puss*, and be really hung up by the Gaunches, we should have them soon grow as bold as *Poll-Cats*, and quickly divide the spoil of the King's Houses; and sure our *Provident Patriot* would never have exhorted the Subscribers to his Covenant, to disband those mercenary Forces, could they have march'd into *White-hall*, with a *Nemine Contradicente*; and have Rebelled without blows or knock: But sure his Majesty has Friends, and Forces enough to defend him, besides those that he pays for his preservation: The strongest *Guards* he has at present, are the faithful Hearts of his Honest Subjects, harden'd into Loyalty, by the miseries they suffer'd for it; with Arms steel'd against the Pistols and Blunderbusses of any new Rebels; having so lately been prov'd in the blood of the old; and why then must a Thousand Men, or a handful of *Guards*, frighten so many Millions; block up one of the most popular Cities in the World; hinder the resolute Rabble from posting into Rebellion, and riding Tantivy to the Devil?

Now

Now to satisfie any one that our *English* here, are as well Vers'd in the cunning Arts of drawing up Leagues and Covenants, as the *Scot*, that universal ill in the North; and proverbially wicked heretofore; let him but consult those Compendious ways our Gentlemen here took to promote their Rebellion, and he will find, that they drew up several Oaths, and Covenants, one of which was agreed on, and subscribed by a long List of Members, the sixth of *June*, 43. before the *Scotch Solemn League* came over into *England*; which was not taken by the Parliament here till the twenty fifth of *September* following: This first that they agreed to, was an Instrument, that would have cut through all Government, and Monarchy; and his Majesty's Head off too, without seconding the blow with another Engine, bought in the North. It was an agreement to Rebel unanimously, to dispense with all the old Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to their King only, by ramming down new ones to fight against him: But yet as if they had distrusted an *English* Engagement, and their own Oaths and Covenants not bold and rebellious enough, to carry on their designs; Messengers are dispatch'd into *Scotland*, to fetch the draught of their *Solemn League* for a better Specimen; and to Complement the *Scot* into a Rebellion, which he had shewn himself ready enough to embrace; and to shew their own readiness to swallow any thing that look'd like a Combination against Monarchy; down goes the same *Solemn League* with our Parliament here, which had been drawn up and Subscrib'd by the *Scots* there: And now both Nations are agreed, and have very solemnly Sworn the Destruction of one unhappy *Monarch*: And no doubt, rather than the prosperity of the King's affairs should have obstructed the deep Designs of our Rebellious Senate, to subvert the Government; some of the timorous Members that were alarm'd with the noise of it, would have Voted an Embassy to the *Turks*, or *Tartars*; invited *Mahometans* to their assistance, Sworn, and Subscrib'd to the very *Alcoran*; otherwise, certainly they would never have submitted to such weak Concessions, to promise conformity to the *Kirk*, admit the *Scot* into the Kingdom, and let Forreigners share in that plunder, and booty, which at first they had only design'd for themselves.

To such extremities does the undertaking of one Villany oft reduce Men, that they are forc't many times to be wicked even beyond their intention, and with a preposterous sort of the Politicks, to resolve on those Measures, which are partly destructive to their own Cause: I think we can't at present invert the proceedings of the late Times, and prove that the *Scot* is now likely to call upon us for our late *Association*, as we did heretofore on them for their *Solemn League*; And much rather that the Loyalty of the present *Scotch-men* should prevent the making such a dangerous Trope, and fatal Inversion; then that their reciprocal affection to our late Covenant should give occasion for it. But though their kindness to the Government hath of late been thus eminently manifested in their last Parliament, yet it is only of those that are most eminent among them: And this our Male-content here, can make use of, both as an argument to strengthen their Cause, as well as to shake the Butters of our own, and with an ingenious sort of Sophistry, pervert the argument of their Opponents, to their own advantage: They know, though no hands can be found to their *Association* in the Council of *Scotland*; yet they can be met with in a *Field-Conviviale*; and though the *Test* has been by many swallowed without so much as a Grimace, yet there are as many that have made very sower Faces at it; some squeamish stomachs quite refused it; some made an Explanation of it, before it came to their mouths; others after it was in their Bellies; and some to Droll off the Authority of the Imposers, and ridicule the *Oath*, are said to have tender'd it to their *Dogs*, and hang'd the *Curs* for refusing it; witty wagg, no doubt, and such as can give the World a Specimen of their parts, by being ingenious Traytors; these are their politick surmises, and presumptions, upon which, for all this, they build great expectation from the *North*; which I hope, though they may serve to animate the Party, will never be sufficient to strengthen it, prove but the slender Twiggs of slight Argumentation, and such as none but bare hope, and a sinking Cause would take hold of.

The first Faction Union we read of, that was made use of to resist any Lawful Authority, was that in the year 1638; when the young Embryo of a *Covenant* was first hatch't in *Scotland* about *Glasgow*, and which serv'd for a Type and Copy to those several, that have since follow'd; This Primitive one was agreed to, in opposition to the King's Proclamation, for the dispersing of the dangerous Rabble; but his Majesties Security was then dreaded, even by those that declar'd so much for his *Preservation*; and straight in defiance of the King's Commands, they read their own Protestations, made by the Lord *Hume*, and Lord *Lindsey*, and others of several degrees, and quality; which they publish'd straight, at *Lithgow* and other places, as *Edinburgh*; and to shew how much they dar'd Authority, they made the Heralds that came to see the Commands of their King *Obeied*, stay to see them very formally *contradicted*, and *exposed*: And it was high time then to *Unite*, for the Justification of those Villanies, which nought but *Impudence* and a *Combination* could defend; And I have still observ'd, that they all along drew up these Instruments, according as they grew more, and more *Rebellious*, making them perfect *Leagues of Guaranty*; to defend themselves like Out-laws, and a sort of *English Banditti*, from the punishments that the Statutes of Treason would have inflicted: And I am sorry to find that our *Associators* already fly to these Extremities, to which none of the late Rebels came, till they had made a further progress; and this bold leap shroudly insinuates, that they have proceeded further then the Nation is aware of, and that they are conscious of more Treason, than is yet discover'd.

These were the occasions of drawing up their first *Covenant* in *Scotland*; which was preach't up at *Glasgow* to be Christ's Contract; and the people desir'd to be hand-fast to him, by shaking hands with it, by one *Cant* a zealous ignorant Bigot, that pretended himself an Ambassador from Heaven; though indeed onely that of Sir *Henry Wottons*, sent abroad to lye for the *Publique*. And thus we see such Zealots are forc'd to make one sin subservient to another, and Blasphemy a Pander to Rebellion. The correspondency that there is between this *Old Combination*, and our late *new One*, is observable in this; that the one was to justify a Protestation against the King's Pleasure for dispersing the Rabble, and dangerous Multitude; the other to contradict his Will in the legal Succession of his Brother; And thus in some sense it agrees with the very *Primitive Union*; my endeavours shall be to show its agreement with all the rest, and of which, in truth, our *Association* seems a choice sort of Epitome; And I don't doubt but its Author had a collection of them on his Desk, for his better information: and thought his Subject very justifiable, because example for it; but that he has of the deposing the King, and murdering of him too, if he has a mind to plead *Prescription*; and make Treasonable Practices like the legal Proceedings in Parliament, warrantable by *Presidents*.

An *English Oath and Covenant*, comes out on the 6th of *June* 43. and seem'd the effect of the *Cities* importunity; *His Majesties Loyal City*; yet I think seldom call'd so, but in some *Appeal from the Countrey*, or in the head of their own *Petitions*. The Citizens promise the Loan of Forty Thousand Pound demanded by the Parliament, upon condition an *Holy League and Covenant* be impos'd on the whole Kingdom; *A great sum for the purchase of their own Slavery, but a small price for the Head of a King*; To please this *City* (that *Bedlam* of deluded Fools and Mad-men, gull'd always with the specious names of *Liberty* and *Religion*, and as yet not wise enough to see even through a transparent Fallacy, and experienc'd Cheat;) to please these peevish Ideots, they have their humor, an the Parliament the money; out comes an *Oath* subscribed by a great number of the Worthy Members, and the scandalous Roll to be fill'd up by the Gentlemen of the Shop and Yard, many of which afterward serv'd a longer Apprentiship, in the bloody Rebellion, than e're they did in their own Profession and Employment.

About the 24th of *August*, 43. The *Scots* being tickl'd with the promises of our *English Committee* that was sent thither with an unlimited Commission, and ordered to close with them upon any Conditions; first put out a Declaration

to publish their intentions of assisting their Friends, the Parliament in *England*; and so the bargain is struck for rooting out Monarchy and Episcopacy, and the King fold before he came to their hands; and strait all that were not incapacitated either by Youth, or Old Age, all from Sixteen to Sixty that could but lift an hand against their Sovereign, are muster'd up for the march: And then to secure to themselves the promises of their Chapmen, which were no less then a share in all the Revenues of the Church; the cunning Merchants, instead of *Bond and Obligation*, the common ties in ordinary Traffick, invent a new sort of security by *solemn League and Covenant*; which was presently sent over to their State-jobbers at *Westminster*, on the 31 of the same Month; and on the 25th of September following was by them subscrib'd in *St. Margarets Church*; a most improper place for ratifying such a bloody *Covenant*, a Contract which Heaven it self could never sanctifie, and which for its lying and hypocrisie, seem'd the very draught of Hell. Now the method I shall take, shall be to Parallel our discover'd *Association*, both with this *Holy League* that was drawn up by the *English*, and the *solemn One* that was afterward sent them by the *Scots*, and upon the comparing of the several Paragraphs digress a little into some needful Animadversion; but for a little while still continue some general Observations.

These Treasonable Bonds and Obligations our old Rebels bound themselves in, that so they might both be secure of one another; and Rebel with a sort of *Publicque Manifesto*, and no person question the notorioufness of that Fact, which by being so publicquely divulg'd, and impudently own'd, was made a little famous; and this, no doubt, made Mr. Nye to give it such an Elogy; but not content to impose on the frailty, onely of a few credulous *Mortals*, they endeavour to abuse even *Omniscience* it self; entitle *Heaven* to those Villanies, which nought but the depth of *Hell* could contrive; call that their *Rebellious Association*, an *Holy League*, & make their own abominable Cause, that of the *Almightie's*; certainly these Men that declar'd so much for Religion, could hardly be suppos'd to know their Bibles; where they might soon have found God's dislike of such proceedings, where *Rebellion* is made worse then the sin of *Witchcraft*; and altogether as much an Imp of Hell and the Devil; but the profane madness of Zealots is such, that they can imagine even the Deity concern'd above, for the Seditious Murmurings of the Rabble below: and that when ever their Vicegerents are complain'd of by the Faction, they are strait by the King of Kings for their satisfaction, depos'd; And God will make the Sons of Princes bow down unto ye; the greatest that have afflicted and despised ye, shall lye at your feet. Heyrick to the Commons, May 27. 46. p. 31. The natural horror, and detestation, I have always had of these late proceedings, though onely acquainted with their Narratives, has oft made me thank my God, that I had no being in this World, when it was arriv'd to such an Insuperable wickedness; when Vice seem'd to have fix'd her Pillars here in this Isle, and made it sin almost to a *Non ultra*; the kind breath that I first drew was with a restor'd Peace, and a recall'd Sovereign, and with both those I hope it will expire too; And this just resentment, and pardonable passion against such villainous Practices, will oft transport me into some digression; the design being only to make a comparison, between those two *Old Covenants*, and our late *New One*; but if the Parallels are not so Mathematical, or the Lines observe no such Geometrick distance; any deflexion will be very excusable, when the very hand trembles that draws them.

But to go to the Comparison, though our late *Association* does not carry in its impudent Front an impious Name too, though *Holy League* now be none of the Sanctified Title for *Rebellion*, yet the effects of it may be as dangerous and the intent as full of Treason; neither would it have been a piece of Policy or even common Prudence in the Contrivers, to have call'd it either *League* or *Covenant*; for those very people that would have applauded the design, might have dislik'd such an Appellation; And many that are ready enough to engage in a Treason, would be loath to have a T burnt in their Fore-head; *Association* will be easily swallow'd, when *League* might stick a little in the Throat. The distinguishing Streamers of *Blew* and *Green* Ribband at present take mightily, though

though the bloody colours of a Parliament Army, would not be presently so pleasant a spectacle.

But yet here there is almost an Identity of practice; the Almighty is most solemnly invoc'd in the beginning of the *Oath*; Priviledges of Parliament; Laws of the Kingdom; Liberties of the Subject; Popery; Protestant Religion; all the same numerical pretensions, the same Words, Expressions, and Out-crys; and what can be the consequence, but that the same *Rebellion* will follow too? When that *Holy League* was bought by the *City* in forty three, at forty thousand pound; when the *Citizens* had been the Parliaments Chapmen, it was thought fit they should be their Factors too; and in order thereunto, they were hired to put off those gross Commodities, of Mutiny, Petitioning, Besieging of *Westminster*, and *White-hall*, railing at the King, abusing of his Council; bawling for Justice, with Noise, Tumult, and Insurrection, and all the confus'd representations of a wild, and distracted people: Such Factionous drudgery being most proper to be carried on, by those *Tylers*, *Straws*, and *Masinellos*; unbecoming the gravity of a Senate, that sat brooding on the pure Elements of Treason; drawing out the Schemes, and Plat-forms of a Common-wealth; and being too certain in their State-Astrology, calculated the future ruine of Three Kingdoms: Circumstances, I fancy, were much the same, when this Modern *Union*, with Oath and Obligation was first contrived; which 'tis very probable was drawn up by some politick Head, that knew what Influence it would have on the Juncture of affairs; no doubt 'twas first hatch'd when the last Parliament sat at *London*, when the Licentiousness of the *City* was such, as nothing but the Tumults in the late Times could exceed it; and perhaps nothing but an Act, and fear of Punishment, obstructed the concourse of the Rabble, with their *Old* way of Petitioning with Blunderbusses, Pikes, and Staves, *White-hall* was then often times block'd up with this Armed Rout, when their Leagues and Covenants were on the Anvil; *And we have those now, that when this Association was a hammering, could threaten to pull the black Man out of it.* Dissenting Protestants were then to be favoured, and conniv'd at; *And now the Laws to be Repealed for exempting them from punishment.* The King then declar'd a favourer of Popery; *Now suspected ready to introduce it.* The Queen then traduc'd for a Plot on the Nation; *And now aspers'd with the same Accusation.* His Majesties Friends past for Evil Counsellors; *And now Betrayers of the Liberties of the Subject.* Judges and Privy Counsellors were then impeach'd; *And I think some of them meet with the same dealing at present.* The proceedings in Ecclesiastical Courts were then examin'd; *Now taken into consideration.* *Montague*, *Manning* Clergy-men scouted; *Thompson and others taken into custody.* The King to have no Money till Grievances were redress'd; *None now till the Bill of Exclusion is past.* Tumultuous Petitioning then encouraged and promoted; *Now, a Proclamation against it to be examin'd, and the advisers punish'd.* Arbitrary Power then the sole cry; *Now the doleful burden of the Song.* This was the state of Affairs, when their *Leagues* were a making; *This our Condition now the Association is a Foot:* All the difference is, the King is not yet driven out of his Palace; nor a Parliament Army yet in the Field.

Thus having Parallel'd the Circumstances of Time and Affairs, when these Engines of Rebellion were fet a work; we will fall a comparing these Instruments of the Devil themselves.

*Solemn League.
Associat.*

The Introduction to the *Solemn League and Covenant*, begins in this manner; *We Barons, Knights, and Burgesses;* And in the same words the Contriver Ushers in his *Association*; *We Knights, Burgesses, &c:*

But one would think this Verbal transcription might have been civilly spared, till these *Knights* and *Burgesses* had shaken off all their Allegiance to their Prince; and been upon the same terms with the King, that they were when they called in the *Scot*, and took the *Covenant*, that was cut and dried for them in the *North*. I fancy, were the rude Animal that Penn'd it, known to the Lower House,

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House, he would have but little thanks for complementing them with the first place in his Paper; and placing so many worthy persons in the highest rank of his Treason, as if they were to be as Eminent for that, as they are for their Love and Service to their Countrey; why had it not better, and more civilly, begun without naming any body? Or, if there must needs have been some Head to this Rebellious Monster; the word *Citizens*, might have serv'd to compleat this prodigy of intended Treason; I am sure this Instrument expresses more the sense and clamour of their mighty *Babylon*, than of the Countrey *Representatives*: And then why not, *We Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs*, as well as *Barons, Knights, and Burgeses*; But he proceeds very methodically, and according to the true Standard of all *Leagues, and Covenants*.

Finding to the grief of our Hearts, the Popish Priest, and Jesuits, with Associat. the Papiſts and their Adherents, and Abettors; have for several years pursued a most Pernicious and Hellish Plot; to Root out the Protestant Religion, to Subvert our Laws, and Liberties, &c.

*Whereas there hath been, and now is, in this Kingdom, a Popish and Tray- Holy League, June 6. 43.
terous Plot; for the Subversion of the True Protestant Reform'd Religion, and Liberty of the Subject, &c.*

That there is a Popish Plot now, is the advantage this *Associator* has above him that contriv'd the Form of that on the Sixth of *June*; and so has the opportunity of telling *Truth*, when the other was forc'd to *Ly* for it: There was no *Popish Plot* then that was ever discover'd by the most industrious Bigot of the Cause, or even appear'd by the most partial Historian to their side; perhaps there was no *Salamanca* Doctors in those dayes, that could out-witt, and trepan the Subtil Jesuite: But methinks if there were any Record extant, it might be found in the careful Collections of Mr. *Rushworth*; who never omitted inserting the least scrap of Parchment, that could serve for his purpose: indeed he gives a Specimen of a Letter, found upon the taking some Jesuites at *Clerkenwell*; how far that may prove a Plot upon the Nation, I submit to the Judgment of the Reader. However we see that the Outcry was then as great upon *Presumption*; as now upon *Proof*: and Popish Plot, Popish Army, Popish Council, Popish Prelate, was the Burden of all their *Oaths, and Covenants*; the Bug-bears to fright the Childish Rabble, from their Respect to the *Crown*, and Reverence to the Church. And had they not at present a *Popish Plot*, a Pandor for their own; 'tis shrewdly to be suspected they would not long be without it, but transcribe the Politicks of their Fore-fathers, make up with *Fiction* what is wanting in *Discovery*; hatcht those Eggs of Plot and Conspiracy, in some Oven, or Dunghill; which Truth and Nature were never like to bring to any maturity; and therefore certainly it is the interest of our Church to cry down *Popery*, more than of those that dissent from it, because whilst it still subverts ours, it can help to establish theirs, so that imagining people in their *Wits* we must suppose them promoting of their *Interest* too, and then this consequence will naturally follow, That the Church of *England*, really deserts that of *Rome*, whilst the Dissenters do but pretend it; now in the next Paragraph the *Associator* falls aboard the *Duke*; who must sustain a full Broad-side of accusation, and all the whole stock of Argument, but I have heard of a fellow that shot at a Deer, but killed the King, and you shall see what a by-blow he gives His Majesty.

And it being notorious, That they have been highly encourag'd by J. D. Associat. of Y. who hath so far prevailed, that he hath created many and great dependants upon him, by bestowing Offices of Preferment both in Church and State, &c.

So this is good and serves the turn most admirably; the *Duke* is a Papist, governs the King; gets in Popish Officers, and then the transiſion is very rational

* Answer to
the Kings De-
claration.

to prove the *King* Popishly affected that hearkens to him. But sure this bad Logick was never intended to be impos'd on the Nation, to be receiv'd as Gospel, sworn too and vow'd, as well as their *Covenant* in Baptism; I thought the danger of the *Popish Successor* had been such, that there was nothing left to mind beside: but this *Associator* seems to be of the opinion of a late * Politician, who thinks the *Duke* more dangerous, as a *Minister* of State, than *Heir* of the Crown; If so, why will the removing of him from the Kings Ear not satisfie these discontented men? certainly in reason there ought to be no more clamor, and discontent, when the Matter and Object of both is removed; and if the presiding at the Helm, and disposing of Church and State Affairs be such a Grievance, then tis no wonder there has been such continual Out-cries, against the *King*, and *Council*, and no doubt in a short time will be raised too against the *Commissioners* in Ecclesiastical Affairs. But then what can be the result of this to sober thoughts, but that all this stir is made, either by those that have a mind to have some share in the preferring of others, or would needs be preferred to somewhat themselves? And then all the clamorous Accusations here against his Highness, insinuate that something must be speedily done against him, and his *Adherents*: so then it seems the Gentleman thinks like other people, that tis a chance but the *King* may survive his *Brother*, therefore tis fit to begin presently, lest the pretence for Rebellion, should be superseded by his untimely end; thus these Sycophants hugg the Case of the *Duke*, as they do their darling the *Plot*; and with him no more out of the way, than they do their *E. of S.* the want of the one, would take away the pretence for their Combination; the other a Patriot. I must confess, as to this particular Case of the *Duke*, the Parallel can't be so exactly drawn with old *Leagues* and *Covenants*, because they had then no such unhappy Prince that could serve to palliate their intended Rebellion; and it can't be expected it should agree with them in all particulars; when this presaging *Comet* of a War appears now so many years since, though unhappily on the same *Horizon*.

Vide *Rushw.*

But by what I can observe from the History of those times, a *Duke* was then the burden of the song; It seems to me a disputable Problem, whether the *Duke* of *Buckingham's* fall by that Villanious Assassin, did not prevent his dying a glorious Martyr for his *Prince*, & a Sacrifice to the Vengeance of the people; though even that unexpected end and private Murder, may serve to inroll him in the Martyrology, as well as those; that were afterward more publicly executed by the bloody Senate. For it appear'd by the confession of the zealous murderer, that he rather espous'd the Nations Cause than his own; that he look'd on the *Duke* as an evil instrument in the Common-wealth; and why so? because he was convinc'd of it by the *Remonstrance* in Parliament: And if that will presently make the person impeach't an *Out-law*, brand him like a *Cain*, to be kill'd by every one he meets, as this murderous Villain seems to suggest in his bold Attempt; Then I pity those unforunate Gentlemen that are expos'd by the late Votes, as Enemies to their King and Countrey, (*i. e.*) as persons that may be pursued like Wolves, and worried with Dogs; and take it for a kindness to be thoroughly dispatch't, suffer but a single death, by the generous hand of some friendly *Felton*. That Parliament in the late times, whose Votes thus animated this Assassin, you see had a *Duke* too, whom they thought too near the King's Ear, and Heart, and though they did not draw up a *Covenant* against him, as this *Associator* has against ours, yet the Clamor of the Commons at that time, was the same with this *Association*, and that even to a word, viz.

I. That he had so far prevailed as to create many and great Dependants upon him, &c.

Vide *Associat.* II. That notwithstanding all the continual endeavours of the Parliament, to deliver His Majesty from his Councils, and out of the power of the said Duke; yet he has been so prevalent that Parliaments have been unreasonably Prorogued and Dissolved, when in hot pursuit of ill Ministers.

This

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This was exactly the fearful out-cry, against the Duke of *Buckingham*, the *prelude* to the War that ensued; and that is Verbatim the bold *Associators* Accusation of the Duke of *York*: And very probably the *Signal* to the Rebellion he intends.

To proceed now to Parallel the rest of the Paragraphs in the Preface to that Oath of *Association*.

And as we considering with heavy hearts, how greatly the Strength, Reputation, and Treasure of the Nation is wasted and consumed, by the intricate expences, and management of these wicked destructive designs; and finding the same Councils still pursued with the utmost divellish malice, and desire of Revenge. Associat.

And now pray mark the Original.

And calling to mind the Conspiracies, Attempts, Practices of the Enemies of God, and how much their Rage, Power, and Presumption is of late, and at this time exercised and encreased; whereof the deplorable, distress'd and dangerous estate of this Kingdom, are present and publick Testimonies. Scotb. fol. Leg.

What reason there was then of those complaints, is best known to those that made them; The state of the Kingdom was *dangerous, distress'd, deplorable*. And I'll give them leave to describe it, in the most miserable terms, that a tongue full of grief can express, or a disturb'd Soul conceive, and shall sympathise very much with them in their Lamentations; But tell them, that in these Hypocritical bewailings of their Countrey, they much blazon their own cruelties towards it; And shall shew how I apprehend the Nation came to fall into that lamentable condition. Its State began to be *dangerous* as soon as the City to be discontented; 'twas *distress'd* when the *King* was forc'd to borrow money upon Loan; 'twas most *deplorable* when he was necessitated to take up Arms for his Life, and at last with so much ignominy to lose it too. But why this *Associator* should sing this sorrowful Ditty, and think the present times so deplorable, is not quite so intelligible; unless he is conscious of his having contributed much towards their being so, and this peevish complainer somewhat of the humor of those Mad-men who have almost an abstracted Idæa of those things they rave for, imagine those Phrensies the real Objects of their *deluded* Opticks, which in truth are onely of their *distemper'd* Intellectuals.

Poor tender heart! how it grieves him to consider, the *Reputation, Strength, Treasure* of the Nation, so miserably *wasted and consumed*; and in kind compassion to his distressed Countrey, has thought on a Sovereign remedy to close its wounds, and unite the pieces of a broken-hearted, dejected, and disaffected People; a prescription much like those of our late Quacking Divines; the Soul's *Balm of Gilead*; the *Salve and Ointment* for a bruised *Conscience*: And now we have got some closing, healing Balsam of *Association*, for the uniting of all dis-united Protestants; But I am afraid such Unctions as these, will produce the same Symptoms that the Fat and Grease does in a Chandler's Shop; make the little Tenement the more ready to catch at every spark, and break out the sooner into flame: And first this Honourable Person, (for certainly he is no small Man amongst the Faction) is mightily concerned for the *Reputation* of the Nation; when 'twas a *Covenant* that made it scandalous, even to the *Rebellious Dutch*; and made our old *Albion* look like a pitiful Colony in *New England*; full of Quakers, Anabaptists, and all the wild distraction of Schism and Division; the decay of its *strength* shivers him into quaking Fits, and dismal apprehensions of being knock't on the Head by the *French*; when all this while not one mite must be contributed for the getting so much as a Cudgel-butt to ward the blow; I fancy this Gentleman espouses the Maxims of the late Political Casuist

at *Malmesbury*, who has laid it down as a principle, that Subjects owe no longer obedience to their *Prince*, than he has strength and ability to defend them : If so, 'tis no wonder the Treasury is so poor, and the strength of the Nation so much decay'd ; as in spite of all reason to the contrary, our *Associator* is willing should still be so ; for 'twould be but madness in him, and a breaking of his own measures, to wish the King any Money, or in a condition to protect his Subjects ; for that would remove those dispensations he would have to warrant his disobedience, and then he must rebel without a License : But certainly this is not only *Transcribing* of the Politicks of Mr. *Hobs*, but *Improving* of them too ; shews him not only ready to dispense with his Allegiance to the King, whenever his Exchequer is low ; but very willing it should always be so ; and then upon that account not barely to withdraw his obedience, but very fairly draws up a Covenant for Rebellion ; and so puts in for another position, of that Eminent Philosopher, *A State of War* : But yet give me leave to inform this sorrowful *Associator*, and with as merry a heart as he pretends his to be heavy ; that this his considering Cap, is not rightly plac'd on his factious Noddle ; and though he considers the *Strength*, *Treasure*, and *Reputation* of the Nation so much Wasted and Consum'd, I apprehend no such thing at all, but rather the quite contrary.

First, Were our *Reputation* so low with our Neighbours, as to make them think us a Bankrupt Kingdom ; a Parcel of poor Rascals, forc't to cheat our Creditors, and compound for Bread ; as this honest Patriot kindly fancies his Country to be ; I can't see why our Trade and Traffick ; and that almost with the whole World too, should continue still interrupted, and without the least danger of being impeded ; I know the Actions of the several Companies, rise and fall, upon the several emergencies of new affairs : But certainly, the Credit and Reputation of the Kingdom, no way depends on those vicissitudes ; yet I grant there is a great noise of a certain great City's growing poor ; but I think it would be happier for a certain King that lives near it, were it less wealthy ; it was *Jesuran's* waxing Fat, that made him kick at God Almighty, and 'tis that, I believe, makes them to spurn at the Crown.

Secondly, Were the *Strength* of the Kingdom so much decayed ; so weak and contemptible, I can't imagine why our Assistance should be desired by our Neighbours, when not in a capacity to defend our *selves* : Sure the late *League of Guaranty* was not then propos'd to our Nation, nor tender'd to the King of *England*, and his entrance desir'd before all the Princes of the Empire, if we are look't upon as a people so weak and inconsiderable, and our King's Protection and Alliance not worth the seeking. Sure the Nation that has beat the *Dutch*, and fought the *French* with all his lusty Guard of *Switzers*, is not so suddenly dwindled into *Pigmees*, and only fit to fight with *Cranes* ; and perhaps this *Associator* and his Crew, may upon grappling find, that 'tis no such easie matter to subdue those *Guards*, he would so willingly remove ; and that his Majesty has too stout a Party of Cavaliers, to suffer a second Plunder, and Sequestration.

Thirdly, Though he suspect the Treasury to be at so low an Ebb ; to have nothing visible in it but dry Dust, and barren Sand, and so to give occasion for such a seasonable *Uniting* against the Government ; he may find himself much out in his Sounding ; and that his Will, and good Wishes were the plummet, instead of Reason and Deliberation ; and that the Tide there, by his leave, is too high for him yet, to wade through into Rebellion ; and now 'tis time to parallel another Paragraph.

Associat.

We therefore endeavoured in a Parliamentary way to exclude the D. but finding the means utterly rejected ; we thought fit to propose to all True Protestants, an Union amongst themselves ; by Solemn and Sacred promise of mutual assistance ; and hold it our bounden Duty to joyn our selves in a Declaration, of our united affections, and resolutions, in the Form ensuing.

We

*We have now at last after other means, of Supplication, Remonstrances, Pro-
testations, and Sufferings, for the Preservation of our selves, and Reli-
gion, after mature deliberation resolved and determin'd to enter into a
Mutual and Solemn League and Covenant, which we all Subscribe, and
with our hands lifted up to the most high God, &c.*

*Scotch solemn
League.*

*And finding that many ways of force and treachery are continually attemp-
ted, to bring to utter ruine and destruction, the Parliament; and that
which is most dear unto us, the Protestant Religion, it is thought fit
that all who are true hearted, and Lovers of their Countrey, should
bind themselves each to other in a Sacred Vow.*

*Holy League,
June 6. 43.*

Here the *Affociator* has shown himself a right filching Plagiary, and not only Copied out the *Sense* of his originals, but almost the very words, after many *Remonstrances, Supplications, Protestations*; after a *Parliamentary way to exclude the Duke*: He might as well have said, Now there remains nothing to do but to drive the King out of his Palace, Proclaim all his followers Delinquents; all his *adherents* Enemies to King and Countrey; send post to Scotland, Messengers to the Field-Conventicles, get another Army from the North, swallow a *second Solemn League*; and then we shall have exactly a *second 43.* the perfect Revolution of a sad *Platonick Year*, as well as a *Plato redivivus*: But I hope the times will prove kinder to this *Affociator*, than he willingly wou'd be to himself: And though so resolutely posting to the Devil, he may meet with many a kind block in the way; such a *Covenant* is sooner drawn up than Subscribed to; and more of Subscriptions may be got than of Horse, Men, and Arms to defend it; and though all the Villany should succeed even to Rebellion, there is power enough left in the Government, they fancy so weak, to keep them from setting up again their Idol of a Common-wealth; and making the deluded people fall down and worship the Gods of their own hands. *Finding our selves not able to exclude the Duke, we think fit &c.* He might as well have said, Are resolved to bring it about one way, or another: But how long hath it been a warrantable piece of Doctrine, to attempt that by foul means, which they despond of getting by fair? sure the Lawfulness of this can never be justified by the best of their Casuists, neither Dr. O. nor Mr. B. will preach up this as sound Doctrine; at present I don't know what might be done were *Conscience Liberty* tolerated again, and one of them made the mouth or *Prolocutor* of an Assembly: for 'tis observable that such mens opinions proportionably widen with their Authority; and as soon as their dominion, which is founded in Grace, begins once to be enlarged by it too, they Commence Latitudinarian in Cases of Conscience, answerable to the extent of their Power and Government; and thus a fellow trots along, a pretty sober Republican, as long as the Law can bridle him, and make the Beast submit to Monarchy; but grows a Devilish head-strong Rebel, when once the Reins are got between his Teeth: And I believe only the thoughts of his having unhorsed his Rider, makes our *Affociator* so bold as to kick at him too. But I hope he'll find there is Law enough left to back him yet; and that there are Whips, Scourges, Axes, and Gibbets, notwithstanding they are now grown no more terrible than Bug-bears, and Scare-crows; as if only design'd to frighten Chil-

dren, and Small-birds : And all this boldness infus'd into all sorts of villains, with a Dose of *Ignoramus*.

I don't see but upon the same grounds these following Proceedings may be very justifiable, and the Gentleman shall give me leave to insert a Clause or two for him in his *Association*, which by negligence I fancy, and not want of good will were omitted.

We therefore endeavor'd in a Parliamentary way to remove all evil Counsellors from the King; some of which were impeach'd, (as also several of the Arbitrary Judges) of High-Treason; on purpose to bring them to condign Punishment. But these means of the King and Kingdoms safety being rejected, Ergo—

And what then? must we therefore presently swear, to draw the one out of the Council-Chamber by the Ears, and dragg the other out of *Westminster-Hall* to the Block? But here you shall have the Tenor of the Oath, and the Copies from which it was drawn.

Associat.

I A. B. Do in the presence of God, solemnly Vow, Promise and Protest, to maintain and defend, to the utmost of my power, with my person, and Estate, the true Protestant Religion, the Power and Priviledges of Parliament, the lawful Rights and Liberties of the Subject.

Scotch Covenant.

I A. B. With hands lifted up to the most High God do swear, That I shall sincerely, really, and constantly, endeavour the preservation of the Reformed Religion in Scotland, &c. That I will with the same sincerity, &c. endeavour to preserve the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament, and the Liberties of the Kingdom.

Holy League.

I A. B. In the presence of Almighty God, do declare Vow and Covenant, in order to the security, preservation of the true Reformed Religion, and Liberties of the Subject, &c.

Certainly they must be the softest fools in the World, an easie sort of Ideots, below the cunning of common brutes, that can be cheated with the same bait, whose disguised hook they have already felt, and smarted by; I believe the contriver of this *Oath*, intended the imposing it onely on Fools and Mad-men, or the *City Mob* worse than both; *Religion and Liberty* may go down again with such Asses, who apprehend neither aright; such as understand the sense of *Magna Charta*, and their *Geneva-Bibles* though in plain English, as much as they would the one in its antiquated French, and the other in its original Hebrew. But sure no man in his Wits can imagine the wiser part of the Nation, so soon deluded with a repeated fallacy: 'Tis observable when on the specious pretences of *Religion and Liberty*, the Government of Church and State, were both subverted, the Magistracy triumph'd over by the Criminals and Rogues, it was to punish us, and the Church persecuted by those factious Dissenters that were to be corrected by it, when the whole Kingdom at last was set in a Combustion, and nought at length but the Kings blood thought sufficient to quench the flame; 'tis observable, I say, that some of the trepan'd Nation began to reflect on the barbarousness of such horrid Proceedings; And to be surpriz'd with a sort of horror at their own Progress; and being pinch'd with the Quære, Why they first engaged in such designs? would still answer that they ne'r intended it should have come to that pass; A poor excuse and expiation for so much Guilt and Villany. But sure such Gentlemen, ought now to be very careful of putting to Sea again, that have been so dangerously tost in the Storm; and not to be decoy'd out with the calm smilings of a ruddy Sky, and the flattering hopes of fair weather. But yet, 'tis but saying to some, the *Religion* is again in danger, their *Priviledges* intring-

ed;

ed ; And we are for launching out again into the purple Waves, and another Red-Sea of Blood ; drawing up *Covenants* again, abusing the King, Libelling the Government, with *Pen* and *Pasquil*, the next door to the reforming it with the *Sword*. But I hope the constitution of it is such that it will not now be so easily subverted ; like a well set bone, grown the stronger for its being broken ; and like the Buildings of their great and mighty *Babylon*, which are now the better secur'd against the wild ragings of a Fire, by their suffering so much in the rebellious Flame.

I will endeavour to resist all encroachments of Arbitrary Power, and endeavour entirely to Disband such mercenary Forces as we have reason to believe were raised to advance it, and are still kept up in and about the City of London, to the great Amazement and Terror of all good People of the Land.

We shall with all faithfulness endeavour the suppressing of all such as have been and shall be incendiaries, malignants, evil instruments, dividing the King from his People.

Scotch solemn
League.

Under these they comprehended, as appear'd by their Proceedings afterward, all those that stood up for the defence of their Sovereign ; all those Forces which for a while kept his Majesty from the Block, were then look't on too as mercenary Switzers, hired to promote an Arbitrary Power.

I will not consent to the laying down of Arms, so long as the Papists now in open War against the Parliament, shall by force of Arms be protected from the Justice thereof.

Holy League.

And they might as well have call'd them *Turks* or *Tartars*, for 'twas the interest onely of those Rebels to fix the most opprobrious names on the Kings best Subjects. And Papist then was as odious an appellation, as malice could affix on the worst of Enemies ; And was as dreadful as our *Associators* new Scare-Crow mercenary Forces.

The Terror of *Arbitrary Power* I grant is dreadful enough to those that know what it means ; but made use of as a more frightful Bug-bear, to those poor souls, that hardly understand what it signifies. To such it serves onely as a Watch-word to fall on, without examining whether there be any occasion for it or no ; 'tis but dressing up a Lamb in a Bears Skin and setting on the Mastiffs ; the ignorant Currs will soon worry the most innocent creature, without discovering the Cheat ; This terrible word *Arbitrary*, has much the same effect with the unintelligible and fearful dargon of Witches, of Juggling Devils, and Impostures in the Black-Art ; It charms the people into an inconsiderate horror and detestation of some persons, they know not why, nor wherefore ; Suspends all the suggestions of reason and humanity, so long as the raging fit of Exorcism endures ; But when a little time has cool'd the possess'd Lunaticks into more sedate reflexion, and common sense ; the motives to all this beastly rage are found very trifling, or quite false, and unaccountable ; Those mercenary Forces which this *Associator* talks of, either were those which were raised even by the consent of Parliament ; which was implyed in their granting a supply for their Pay ; Or else he only means His Majesties Guard ; which I agree with him
are

are still kept up, and for very good purpose too. If he means the former I am so far of his opinion that they were *mercenary Forces*; for they took pay to die as other Souldiers do, some of them being Ship't over into *Flanders*, according to the design they wereraised for, and there knock't in the head by the *French*; But that they were all muster'd up to cut our Throats, to introduce an *Arbitrary Power* with the Sword, and Massacre all that oppos'd it, are certainly surmises as groundless as Jealousies can invent, and like those reports of the *French* landing at *Purbeck*, and the Battels that were seen in the Air, or of the modern *Dr. Faustus* that flew from *St. Omers* to *Salamanca*; And if the baseness of the common Souldiers that were listed, and their Officers affection to Popery shall warrant such suspicions; I don't see how 'tis possible for His Majesty upon the most pleasing account, to raise an Army without such mean beggerly fellows in it, and defend his Officers from being suspected as Papists, so long as there are onely *poor men* that will take common pay, and *disaffected persons* to create such Jealousies; And what can such suspicions terminate in, but to make the *credulous*, and those that won't believe fairly dispatch one another, about a quarrel Whether their business is to be done by a *third*? a pretty way to make an end of the dispute, and themselves together: And then by the *Associator's* leave, such suspicious thoughts, not only reflect on the integrity of so merciful a *Prince*, who is grown almost gray under his clemency; and very unlikely to take much comfort in his *Mercenary Forces*, and *Arbitrary sway* in his old age; which would but serve to discompose that remnant of Life, we commonly desire to pass in the *greatest* tranquillity: But these surmises detract also from the prudence and honesty of a *Parliament*, that first mov'd for their raising, and voted a Subsidy for their pay; and sure he is too tender of the honour of that Assembly, to fancy they would make their fellow Subjects contribute to their own ruine, and buy their slavery at the expence of *Blood* and *Moneys*.

If he means the *Guards*, (which is very probable, because he says *still kept up in and about the City of London*) then I deny that they are to the *Terrour and Amazement of all good People*, for none but the *bad* are concerned for it; and 'tis strange that those which are so much for the *preservation* of his Majesty's Person, won't allow of a competent Guard to preserve him from the Bullet of a *Pickering*, or the Blunderbuss of *Mr. Colledge*.

And yet these Gentlemen that are so mightily apprehensive, of an unaccountable Danger of *Arbitrary Power*, and its being set up by the King's Guards, are the very same persons that grin at his Majesty's thanks for his *Declaration* to govern by Law; blazoning that gracious act to consist partly per pale, of weakness and impertinencie; and this they do with these their two bandied argumentations; First, That such a Submissive Declaration argues too great condescension in a *Monarch*, and weakly makes him Appeal to his *Subjects*: And secondly, That the declaring his intention to rule by Law, was as impertinent, as the thanks for it unnecessary; because that by those Laws, and his Coronation Oath, his Majesty is obliged to do it: I think I have express'd their meaning in as civil terms as they usually complement his Majesty withal: And now they may fairly give me leave to tell my own sense and judgment of these their sentiments, and opinions.

In my poor Apprehension, this gracious Declaration, seems a direct Answer to all their froward Petitions; And will these bawling Bratts not so much as be pleased with the very Rattles they cry for? They still bawl'd for frequent Parliaments, and here the King promises they shall have them. *Popery* must be kept out, and *Property* secured; And in this he declares to preserve the *Protestant Religion*, and protect them in their *Rights* and *Priviledges*; The dread of *Arbitrary Power* was the Burden in all those Papers and Parchments they presented; And there they are assured that he will govern according to *Laws*, and take them for his sole Measures: And now must the same factious Scriblers, that writ such *smooth Panegyrick* on all their *Petitions*, be hired to make such *Satyrical Animadversions* on his Majesties *Declaring* to gratify them? And shall the King be urg'd and vex'd into Compliance with all their petulant Requests, and then have his good Nature traduc'd for Easiness and Folly; And shall both *Meekness* and *Tyranny* by turns abuse the Government; secure an Odium upon it, by making both *Extreams* serve for the purpose? If so, for God's sake let them shew me the Possibility, of keeping up a Monarchy, amongst such perverse and implacable Republicans; and as for the Condescension they talk of, his Majesty is somewhat beholden to these Gentlemen, for being so jealous of his Honour. But I would ask them what other way could be taken to bring his Majesties Subjects into right understanding of his good Inclinations towards them; These Arguers are Conscious to themselves, with what black Representations they have blemish'd his Government; and to whom shall the King appeal for his Justification, but to his poor Subjects that are scared out of their Loyalty by their false, and scandalous Suggestions? Won't they allow the King, what is granted to the most profligate Wretch, and Criminal at a Bar, not so much as to make his Defence; not to have the benefit of every *common English Man*; And what they themselves would expect, if they had their Deserts, and were arraigned for Treason? Sure they show themselves most inveterate Traytors, that after they have represented their Prince as a *Tyrant*, would put him out of a possibility, of shewing himself *Gracious* and *Merciful*; they know they have a great advantage with the Rabble against their King upon even Terms; why then must he be Libell'd, and not suffered to venture a Reply? And why shall his Majesty be denied, what their *Hamburg Sheriff* did attempt, to vindicate himself in Print? All the Answer they can make to it is, That then the People will be brought into their Wits again, and they will lose the benefit they make of their Distraction.

The other Whirlbat which they flourish about mightily, and put into the Hands of every young Combatant, that has a mind to skirmish for the Cause, is briefly this; That both the King and the Thanks were needless, because the King could not do otherwise by Law, and his Oath: But this is like all the rest of their Arguments against the Government, full of Cavil and Spite.

We will grant them the King can't bring in *Arbitrary Power* by Law; but if they tell the People that it will be brought in without it, is the King bound by Law to tell them he intends no such thing? These factious Gentlemen are as much bound by the Law, and their Oaths of Allegiance, to live like dutiful Subjects, and to love their Sovereign; and should they declare thus much to their King under their Hands (as they would do, did they really love him,) I fancy they would be very much nettled, should not his Majesty return them so much as Thanks for such a Testimony, and perhaps grumble too if they were not prefer'd for such a work of Superarrogation; Though all this while they are as much obliged by their Oaths to obey, as he is to protect, but yet these reciprocal Assurances on both sides may be merely voluntary. Suppose some of these Arguers met with a suspected Band of licentious Libertines, whom they thought neither the Law of God or Man could deter from committing any Villany; would not they thank this Banditi for assuring them of a safe Passage, without Plundering or Murder? I appeal to the whole Kingdom whether some of our suspicious Wretches do not daily represent the King and his Council as dangerous altogether, as any such parcel of Ruffians, such as would be for enslaving the Nation, and cutting of Throats with our *Associators mercenary Forces*: And must not the King be permitted to wipe off such black Scandals? expel such Panick Fears, and be thank'd by his Loyal Subjects, for such comfortable Promises? In short if they are satisfied that the King cannot Rule but by the Law, why do they dread so much an *Arbitrary Power*? If they are afraid he will Rule without it, why won't they thank him for his Assurance to the contrary? This Digression is so far

a pertinent Comment on the last Paragraph we handled in the *Association*, as it clears his Majesty from designing an *Arbitrary Sway*; which the bold *Associator* would insinuate. And now we will proceed to compare the rest of his excellent Stuff.

Associat.

Moreover J. D. of Y. having publicly own'd the Popish Religion, &c. I will never consent that the said J. D. of Y. or any other who hath any way adhered to him, and the Papists, &c. shall be admitted to the Succession of the Crown of England; But by all lawful Means, and by force of Arms will oppose him, and endeavour to subdue and destroy him, and all his Adherents, that intend to set up his pretended Title.

Holy League

June 6.

Solemn Leag.

Negar. Oath.

That I will according to my Power and Vocation, assist the Forces raised by both Houses of Parliament, against the Forces raised by the King without their Consent.

I. A. B. Do swear from my Heart, that I will neither directly, nor indirectly adhere unto, or willingly assist the King in this Cause, &c. And that my coming and submitting to this Parliament, is without any Design whatsoever.

Now I would have any one tell me what will be the difference between assisting the Forces of the Parliament, against those of the King; swearing neither directly, or indirectly to adhere to his Majesty; and this Clause of Fighting, Subduing, Expelling, Destroying the Duke and all his Adherents, when as much a King as ever his Father was; which is supposed and implied in this Clause of the *Association*; And that all this shall be done, when he comes to the Crown, and seeks to set up his pretended Title? But why must his Title only be pretended, when he will have as much right to wear the Crown, as the Head upon which it is now so miraculously placed? What can be the result of this, but that those men who will think his Title then but pretended, have but little better Opinion of his present Majesty's? Certainly upon the same Ground that they will not admit him to the Throne, they may pull the present King out of it: for it is but rejecting the Duke for giving Life and Birth to the Plot, and the King for conniving at the Conspiracy (that horrid accusation wherewith some Traytors have already traduced his Majesty,) and then farewell Government of old England; good Night to the best tempered Monarchy in the World.

But then for the Clause of all Adherents to be destroyed too, 'Tis such an unlimited piece of Massacre, that for ought I see half the Nation must be forc'd to swim in their own Blood by these tender Lovers of their Country, and these Patriots put in for a more barbarous cutting of Throats than that of the Danes in the same Kingdom; that of Paris in France, or Piedmont in Italy: This word Adherent must include the extirpating the whole Line of Succession, notwithstanding it is pretended only in opposition to the next Heir; For it does the Prince of Orange his business, whom they all acknowledg a Protestant Prince, as much as if he were the greatest Bigot of Rome; it is but saying he adheres to his own Father-in-Law, one from whose Blood he must derive some of his Pretensions, and then the Protestant Prince must be destroyed too, according to the word of the Association, as an Enemy to Laws, Religion, and Country.

But now at last comes a Paragraph, not to be parallel'd by the old Covenants only because fuller of Treason, and Rebellion, The obeying of the Parliament in Forty two, and Forty three without a King, was pretended somewhat warrantable, because his Majesty had unhappily passed an Act for Triennial Parliaments, and then another afterwards for their perpetual sitting; But this Gentleman without any more Ceremonies, without expecting such an unreasonable Grant from the King; resolves that Affairs shall be carried on with such a resolute piece of Treason, that none but desperate Men and mad, such as had bid Defiance to the Laws of God and Man, would ever ingage in; which read *Verbatim*, if it be possible for any Loyal Heart that loves his King and Country, to have so much Patience.

Associat.

And lest this just and pious Work should by any means be obstructed, or hindered, for want of Discipline and Conduct, or any evil minded Persons under pretence of raising Forces for the service of this Association, should attempt or commit Disorders, we will follow such Orders as we shall from time to time receive from this present Parliament, whilst it shall be sitting; or the major part of the Members of both Houses subscribing this Association, when it shall be prorogued or dissolved, and obey such Officers as shall by them be set over us in the several Counties, Cities, and Burroughs, until the next meeting of this and another Parliament; and will then shew the same Submission and Obedience unto it, and those who shall be of it.

I don't doubt but had this *Associator* been known to both Houses of Parliament, their professed Loyalty is such, they would have voted his head to be preferred to that honourable place among the Traitors on the Bridge; A just requital for paying such a Treasonable deference to that honourable Assembly; and so boldly complementing them without their leave into Rebellion; A *Pious Work* indeed, and such as I don't doubt, without a seasonable repentance and an infinite Mercy, will damn the Contriver. *And lest any evil minded Persons should commit Disorders.* A very careful Patriot certainly, one who will not suffer so much as a little disorder to be committed; But it would be a little hard for the poor Mouse that picks a little hole in the Bread to be caught by the neck by the Thief that stole the whole Loaf; *Strickt discipline* indeed! that makes the least disorder in raising of Forces so criminal and obnoxious; and yet the mustering them up to rebel, a work *Pious* and meritorious. Sure the Contriver of this work is not so well acquainted with the House of Commons, and their Priviledges, as he would be thought to be; or else is resolved to act and forge in spite of all equity and truth. For none that have stretch't the Power of that Assembly to its utmost extent ever allowed it a right of sitting like so many petty Kings in *Representative*; To issue out Proclamations, raise Forces, and command obedience from their fellow Subjects.

I confess we had a Parliament that did all this, raised an Army, made their Generals, fought their King, but sure this *Associator* can't be such a Villain to think the late Representatives of the Nation, would all have commenced Traitors; and after a most inconstant rate, imitated that Parliament in 41. Which some of they themselves by particular *Act* since have declared guilty of Rebellion, nay to outdo and transcend them in their Treason, to sit in opposition to his Majesties Command, whereas those did by his unhappy Permission. But this bold *Associator* can go further yet; resolves the sitting House shall not only be obeyed as the Supream and Legislative power of the Nation, but that the *Major Part* of those *Members* whom he civilly supposes ready to subscribe, after *Prorogation*, after *Dissolution*, shall be submitted to, as invested with an higher Supremacy then any would be willing to allow his present Majesty; and that this select Committee in their Respective *Countries*, *Cities*, and *Burroughs*, like so many Stadt-holders in their several *Provinces*, shall create Officers, muster their Armies, fall a plundering again of Delinquents, and hanging up every *Malignant Dog* that dares but shew his teeth or wag his Tayl; but all this while we must not imagine this to be a design to set up a *Republick*. The Contriver of all this horrid Treason and Rebellion, was only some bold impudent Scribler, some little factious fellow of a *Ribband Club*. I wish such a Design were only in the single heart of some poor ordinary rascally Traitor; I fancy then we should quickly have his heart out with his bowels; I fancy the Rogue would hardly lie so long *incognito* or meet with a Stickling *Ignoramus*. But if ever the Design take in the Kingdom, we shall see some of our loftiest Cedars will aspire to the Reputation of having brought it about, and not suffer every factious Mushroom that just railed against the Government assume the glory of having subverted it too; If there be such a brave party ready to subscribe this excellent design (as he seems to insinuate that drew it up,) his Majesty certainly has more need to double his Guards for his own preservation, then to dismiss them to please such dangerous *Associators*; and none that have read the common Apologue of the Sheeps being worried by the Wolves as perswaded to dismiss their Dogs, but from the Fable can deduce so good a Moral as to see through the shallowness of their disguis'd Intentions, and keep themselves from being circumvented with such another cheat. I wonder what should make this Politician think such a *Major Part* of *Members* so great a *Part* of the Government too as singly to require obedience; would it not be as much Treason to swear fealty to them, as if it were done to persons that were nothing of that Politick Body? Perhaps with this *Associator* and men of his Principles, the *Swearing only* to obey Members of that honourable Assembly much extenuates the guilt of disobeying their Prince, but yet he is for submitting to the Orders of those that have no Relation to it, *Disbanded Members* that have no more share in the Government then a petulant Officer in the Company from which he is cashiered; I know these Idolatrous Adorers of their own created Gods, have such strange Opinions of their deified Creatures; that they can't imagine them to be reduced by the breath of a King into their primitive Stations, from which by that very mouth they

they were called, can't imagine that such a dignified thing, after having once represented the sense of his whole Corporation, to be able to commence again a common Subject, and to have no more understanding than his Electors. Be it so, still there is no reason why this Gentleman must be supposed to retain somewhat of Sovereignty too, only because it has been, and look'd upon a King; do more than they will allow his Majesty, carry his Power with him wherever he goes, and in his little *Burrough* make Orders, and Laws, only because he hath voted in the place where they are legally made. These are such Extravagancies in Opinion, that not a discreet Person that ever served his Country in that Capacity, but will detest to be thought guilty of, nothing but the wild Conceits of some City Mechanicks, or Country Clodpates that send them thither, or the treasonable Insinuations of such an *Association* to subvert the Government.

The close of all these *Solemn Leagues* are still the same, very pious indeed and unanimous.

Association.

Neither will we for any respect of Persons, or Causes, or for fear of Reward separate our selves from this Association, or fail in prosecution thereof during our Lives, upon Pain of being by the rest of us prosecuted as perjured Persons, and publick Enemies to God, the King, and our Native Country, to which Pains and Punishment we do voluntarily submit our selves, &c.

Scotch solemn League.

That we shall assist and defend all that enter into this League and Covenant: Nor suffer our selves Directly, nor indirectly, by whatsoever Combination, Perswasion, or Terror, to be divided, or withdrawn from this blessed Union, and Conjunction; all which we shall do as in the sight of God, in the presence of the Almighty, the searcher of all Hearts, as I shall answer it at the great Day, when the Secrets of all Hearts shall be disclosed.

Holy League 6. of June.

I will likewise assist all other Persons that shall take this Oath, in what they shall do in pursuance hereof; and this Vow and Covenant I make in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all Hearts, with a true Intention to perform the same, as I shall answer it at the great Day, when the secrets of all Hearts shall be disclosed.

If these Instruments of Hell were to be compared with any thing besides themselves, I should assimilate them to the Serpent I have read of in *Pliny's* natural History, which he calls *Amphisbena*; describing it with a smooth, delicate Head at both ends; and in those two fine Extremities all the Cunning of the crafty subtil Animal seems to be lodged, while all the other parts besides are nothing but Venom, and Viper; All these subtil Engines you may observe to begin with abundance of cunning Insinuations, as if all were done for the real Advance of Religion and Piety, with a having before our Eyes the Glory of God, &c. See Scotch Coven. With a finding to the Grief of our Hearts, that the Popish Priests and Jesuits, vid. Pref. to the Assoc. And then all conclude, in calling it a blessed Union for the Glory of God; vid. Solem. Leag. A righteous End, and pious Work: See Assoc. All with the Name of God at both Ends; whilst all the Bowels and Entrails of these Monsters, are full of the Devil; full of Venom against the Government; Treason against the King; And Lies to the very Face of that God they so solemnly Invoke. Well, then it seems by the resolute Close of this Association, that no respect of Persons or Causes, Fear, or Reward, shall make them desert their Fellows and Associates; Stout Champions indeed! and so true to the Cause, as to make it a sort of Treason to Conspire the giving it up: With a kind of Martial Law to punish the Delinquents, as a Council of War does those that fly from their Colours, or yield up a Garrison; And yet all this while think it not so much as a Peccadillo, to Plot against the State, and Rebel against their Sovereign. For certainly if no Persons or Causes, must make them desert so wicked a Conspiracy, or permit any single Conspirator to turn an honest Renegado; Then all his Majesties Proclamations like those of his Father's, for laying down their Arms, must be answered with a Remonstrance; They may get some young Spawn of old Oliver for their General; and in spite of King and Laws, march with their Colours flying, and Drums beating, throughout all the Kingdom from *Barwick* to the *Mount*; and all this must be done if enjoyed by the Major Party of Members. Not only upon those common Obligations, most Laws bind Vassals to Obedience, viz. by being Penal or Capital; not only such light Punishment, and Vengeance must follow the violating the Contract, but Damnation too, and every dastard Delinquent, that hath not an Heart, like one of *Matchiavil's* compleat Rogues, stout enough to go through all this Villany; must be prosecuted with a Pillory here, and Damn'd as a perjured Person hereafter.

I know the Italian Bandities, and our English Highway-Man, though but common

common Out-laws on the same terms the Subscribers of this *Association* would be; punish one another many times by mutual agreement, and that according to the Penalties of those very Laws of the Kingdom they daily violate. But however though such exact Justice be observed amongst Thieves and Robbers it cannot extenuate the guilt of those Murders and Villanies they commit. And why all the Blood that is shed, all the Plunder that is committed by such a select Band of Covenanters is not as much a Violation of the Laws, as Murder and Robbery, I cannot understand; then it seems also no *Hope of Fear or Reward* must separate these resolute Fellows; If so, I would ask these Gentlemen, whether the *Fear of God*, and the *Devil*, the Hopes of Heaven, and Happiness may not also be excluded by so universal a Negative? If they say they only mean by it the allurements of Men, or Terrors of some earthly Powers; Then it had been but prudently done to have mollified it with some such Limitation. If they make no such excuse for it, then I think it stands still a daring piece of Atheism, and resolute profaneness; neither were they to *separate themselves during Lives*, so this is a most excellent and vigorous prosecution indeed, they are not so much as to think themselves absolved from this Oath, though the reasons and occasions for taking it were quite removed and obviated, for 'tis such an indispensable Obligation as must not cease but with their breath; and they swear to hold their Combination by the same Tenure some do their places with a *Durante Vita*, so that suppose by an untimely death, or a natural one, the *Duke*, that unhappy Burden of this lamentable Song, were removed; they still oblige themselves to obey what Orders they shall receive from those *Perpetual Dictators*, so long as they enjoy Breath and Life to put them in Execution. And all this notwithstanding a surviving King or Protestant Successor, how near this would have come to the nature of a Common-wealth, I submit to the determination even of those men that think all Republican Designs at this time so ridiculous and impossible.

Thus having with as much patience and moderation, as such a provoking Subject would permit; parallell'd, examined, the nature, tendency of this specious *Association* itself by comparing each particular Paragraph, we will now make some observations on the whole complicated Piece of *Digested Treason*: And then expose those little Subterfuges, that Varnish of reason and argumentation they are forced to fly to, that defend it like sinking Mariners, catching at every little Board and Plank, to buoy up the head of so desperate a Cause.

This whole Schem of Rebellion will upon a careful perusal be found, in some places of such an unlimited extent; in others full of mental reservation; sometimes you meet with a deep Equivocation; then with a plain Lie: here some factious insinuation, and at last perfect treasonable Positions, that one would swear the Council of a *Conclave*, *Hell*, and a *Republick*, had all consulted the form and manner of the drawing it up. And each inserted its Paragraph, according to their several abilities, of *Equivocating*, *Lying*, and *Speaking Treason*.

First none are *Excluded* that will but come in and take this Oath; For they swear to protect all such as shall enter into it *in just performance of the true Intent and meaning of it*; so that if Turk, Jew, Infidel, or any Heretick in the World that is no profess'd Papist, come and subscribe, he is presently to be protected and defended: I know that in the Preface to this *Pious Work*, 'tis only extended to all *True Protestants*; but that general appellation is so indefinite, that I do not see why it may not comprehend an Army of *Tatars*, if they will but land here and protest against the King and Government; then it is so *Extensive* that all *Adherents* must be *destroyed*; so that the *King* by denying his Royal Assent to dispossess his Brother of his unquestionable Right, and the *Lords* the passing the Bill in the Higher House, being in all reason to be judged *Adherents* to the *Duke*; must be cut off every mothers Son, which certainly would be a worse piece of business for the *Peers*, then heretofore their being Voted *Useless*; *Useless Trunks* they would make them indeed now, when by such an *Association* they would go near to lose their heads.

Secondly, all this old Chiming and Ding Dong about *Liberty*, and *Property*, that must ring through the Country on the communicating this new *Covenant*, and charm the listning Clod-pate like a merry Peal of Bells on a Holyday, is nothing else but *Mental Reserve* and meer *Equivocation*; For first by the name of *Liberty* cannot be meant that of enjoying the Freedom of their persons from confinement;

as every good Subject may well expect, so long as he lives in Conformity to the Laws, that would justly confine, and punish him if he did not; for then it would have been but a piece of impertinency to have inserted it; for the whole Nation at present enjoys all this; therefore it must necessarily follow that all that can be employed in this Ambiguous Phrase *Liberty*, by such *Associators*, is a *Liberty* of rebelling with impunity, a *License* to perpetrate all those villainies, for the obtaining of which the specious Pretence of *Liberty* can but possibly be suggested; and which indeed is now adays upon all occasions so cunningly pretended that I don't see but in a short time the whole Kingdom may set up for *Levellers* and *Libertines*; every poor beggarly Rascal plunder his wealthy Neighbour till he make the squares even, — every bloody Villain stab, shoot, and murder all that oppose his Designs, whilst the suppressing this Barbarism shall be thought an infringing of *Liberty*; Forbidding the *Israelites* to spoil the *Egyptians*, and then no wonder if they murmur against *Moses* and *Aaron* in their *Tents*: And then by *Property* can never be meant the keeping of their Possessions in quiet: so long as there is no one that disturbs them in it: But if they are resolved to be their own Tormentors out themselves from their Tenements, by voluntary flight, run away as if they would leave themselves behind: haunted by their own Shadows: fancy *French* Armies at *Purbeck*, Navies at *Portsmouth*, and then depopulate their Habitations of their own accord: Certainly this can't be charged as a Severity on the Government, as seizing their Properties, or else Carelessness in the Magistrate in not defending them; If the *Rabble* will like a Flock of *Crows*, or *Wild-Geese*, at the Garring or Cackling of one of their *Centinels*, presently take the Alarm, and with a terrible Cry be streight on the Wing, although there be no Guns in the Field, or Nots in the way; Sure they may thank themselves too for their own Disturbance. And 'tis evident to the most discontented Wretch, though his froward Soul force him to lye even in despite of *Grace*, and the Suggestions of *Conscience* to the contrary: That since the *King's* Restoration, the *Libertie*, not so much, as of the meanest Subject, has ever been Infringed, or Violated, unless merited by his own *Guilt*, and warranted by the *Law*; nor so much as one Tittle of *Property* denyed to the Proprietor, besides what hath been forfeited by Rebelling against his Majesty, or the *Laws* of the Kingdom; What there was before, those best know that suffered by the Tyranny of that *Usurpation*; So that all that can be meant by these *Associators*, when they cry out *Propertie*, is but supposing themselves to have a Right, where they have none at all, and then cry out they are denyed their Share in this and that, when all the while they have no right to the *Dividend*; So that I think the reserv'd Gentleman that drew it up, might have been more free and open, and in plain terms bespoke the People, as a certain *Ignoramus Criminal* is said to have done; Look you my Friends, there is a black Man at *Whitehall*, keeps a great deal of Room and Land, of which we were once in quiet Possession. And I don't see why we should forgo those *Properties* that were held (*vi & armis*,) by our Grandfathers, 'tis but knocking the *Guards* on the Head, and in with our Blunderbusses, make those Red-coated Lobsters swim a little in their own Blood; Seize the *Heir*, and the *Inheritance* is our own again.

Then for its black *Lyes*, and *Contradictions*; They are like the Darkness of Hell it self, so gross that they may be felt; what an impudent piece of Falshood is it to perswade a Nation, that it is guilty of a thing, of which to its very self it is no way Conscious; and make it swear that the *Guards* are kept up to the *Terror*, and *Amazement* of all good People, when all the while they believe no such thing; Strange that this *Amazing* fit should on the sudden surpris us, of which we have had not so much as a Symptom this twenty Years. I suppose it would puzzle this quacking Statesman to give the true cause of this sudden shivering Distemper in the Body Politick, as much as it doth most Physicians truly to define the matter of *Agues* in the *Natural*; But the *Associator* presumes much upon the Ignorance of the People, or his own Wit and Parts; And that they are as ready to swallow a gross *Lye*, as he is to ram it down with an *Oath*; Or else sure he would not be so bold as to perswade them that one or two thousand Men in Arms, would cut the Throats of so many Millions; this is establishing Paradoxes on the Credulity of Fools and Idiots; 'Tis the Happiness these men have to make the wildest Extrems subservient to their Cause; The *Infidelity* of a prejudiced *Ignoramus* keeps it up on the one side, and the *Credulousness* of those that are truly *Ignorant*, must be the Butters on the other;

ther; I have heard of a Fellow that was often drunk and Lunatick, and in either of those fits had such dreadful Appearances of Fiery Dragons, and strange Visions, and the Delusion of his fancy so violent, that he could never be satisfied till he had imposed the same belief on all those that were about him, who to avoid the troublesome of the Impostor were forced to feign themselves Spectators too. I think this will be all the *Terror*, and *Amazement* the *Wise* People and the *Good* will lie under, and as for the *Fools*, and *Knaves*, we care not how much they are frightened by such Sir *Eglamores*, the Champions of the State and their *D agon*s; and then what a pretty piece of *Contradiction* is it, for them to swear to defend his *Royal Majesties Person*, and *Estate*; and then in the next line to talk of opposing *Arbitrary Power*? which seems to me somewhat like the proceedings of that Traitor *Judas*; come on with a *Hail Master*, and then delivering him to be crucified. Declaring both offensive, and defensive War at the same time, and against the same Person. For who can be thought to set up *Arbitrary Power*, and who can be meant in that expression, but his *Majesty*? a Prince that has ruled them this twenty years, with a Clemency almost to a Crime, and made himself the Object of their discontent, only by his Gracious Indulgence: Lastly that there are *Treasonable Positions* in it is pretty plain from the last Clause of obeying their fellow Subjects, some little Regiment of a disbanded Committee; when there is an Act of Parliament that makes it high Treason, on any Pretence whatsoever to enter into Combination or take up Arms against the King; 'tis true this Monster of a *Union* seems with it's *Head* to defend the Crown and Scepter, but with it's *Tail* lashes the one from his *Majesties Head*, and the other out of his *Hand*; destroys the Monarchy, creeds a Common-wealth, enslaves the People with the Bait of Freedom, and to save the silly wretches from *Popery*, damns them to the punishment of *Treason*, and the torments of *Hell*: And now I hope the charge I laid down above is proved in its several particulars, and from the agreeableness of it to such Projectors, from its *Treason* will be thought the contrivance of a *Republican*, from its *Equivocation* of a *Jesuit*, from its *Lying* of the *Devil*. And now we shall consider the poor Arguments that are used by the party to defend it; and the first Champion that enters the List seems armed with all the authority the Supream power of the Nation can invest it withall, & said by the *Factions* Abettors of it to have been the discourse, and Design of the *Parliament*, which is the plain insinuation of the Fore-man, when my Lord S. was to be put on his Trial, *vid. Proceedings at the Old Bailey*; where these glancing Interrogatories are still put to Mr. Secretary: Don't you know there was a discourse in *Parliament*? Did not you know of such a debate in *Parliament*? Han't you heard there was a talk of *Association* in *Parliament*? Pretty Questions indeed, and is this one of them they took so much time for, this all the egg that is laid after so much cackling and laying their heads together? I thought a Grand Jury such *Good men* and *true*, were sworn to sift things impartially, without being Counsel for the Prisoner, in opposition to the King: If so let any man judge how pertinent this Question was to the detecting the truth, and since they are so tickled with Interrogatories; Quære whether these two or three Quæries may not as well be put?

1. *Whether if all the Council assigned to Fitz Harris, could have pleaded more for his Lordship, than these Gentlemen of the Grand Inquest?*

2. *Whether Ignoramus Juries ought not to be considered from the Protestant Exchequer; which like their Thames is at full Tide in the City, when 'tis Low Water at White-Hall?*

3. *Whether the Council of the one, or the Jurors of the other were the better paid, And what is the difference between taking up a Prejudice against the Kings Cause, and a fee for the Prisoners?*

These Quæries being civilly proposed, we'll now make some reply to their puzzling Interrogatories, about a *Parliament*; which I look upon as a sort of riddling *Sphinx*, and like that Monster, with many forms, and faces, which if not unriddled, they'll be sure to make it murder the credit of the Kings Evidence. But then if it chance to meet with its *Oedipus*, and be well expounded; why should not these Gentlemen and their Cause, (to carry on the fable,) break their necks too? we know as well as any of these *Good*, *Honest* men, that there was a Bill proposed in the House of Commons, and that about *Association* too, they having owned it, and published it in their Printed Votes, and so not only the close, sly insinuations

of their subtil Interrogatories. But what then? does it follow this discovered paper was read there too, and every Paragraph of it, amongst which one is plain Treason? sure that honourable House is but little beholden to those Gentlemen for such squinting reflections. But it seems such men may make bolder with their Representatives, and take as much liberty with their *Petty Gods*; as a canting Nonconformist does with his *God Almighty*. Then secondly were it read there *verbatim* as these bold Insinuator would have the World believe, sure the bare debating or reading it could not pass it into an Act too, and make it as statutable, as if the King's *Le Roy vult* had passed it into *Law*; if so, it had then been pertinently urged as an Argument for the Prisoner, when all the *Old Acts* that make it Treason to raise Forces without the King, would have been abrogated by this *New one* for tolerating Insurrection. In the mean time give me leave to think that this Suggestion excused them no more from bringing the Prisoner to his *Trial*, then a Vote of the House could have warranted them to pull him out of the *Tower*. And by their leave how do all these insinuations prove the Parliament concerned in it? the most that can be gathered from the Circumstances of Affairs, is, that it must be only understood of the House of Commons, and now all is out, and what none of them will own when pinch't with it, blabs forth unawares in Confession. Unhappy Tongues, thus to betray their Masters.

So now we know what they mean by a *Parliament*, it seems the House of Commons is the *Parliament*, and they will have this *Parliament* to exclude the *Duke* by themselves; their Votes to be *Law*, and they sit again as long as they please, and whether the King will or no; 'tis they must go down into their several Burroughs; and according to this *Association* raise the Militia, and make the people swear to obey them: If this be the right constitution of a *Parliament*, the *Lord have mercy upon us*, and *God save the King*, and no wonder then if the House of Lords were in the late Rebellion Voted useless, and now declared *Obstructors of Justice*, and *Violators of the constitution of Parliaments*; and no need will there be for *Repealing an Act of Scandalum Magnatum*, if they can be so much traduced, made so scandalous without it. And give me leave to tell these Gentlemen too, that make the name of *Parliament*, a justification for all their own *Factionness*, and a Terror to all other peoples *Loyalty*: that this complementing that honourable Assembly as their *Patrons*, and but other mens *Bugbears* is no such great piece of civility. If you now adays reprimand a fellow for talking irreverently of the King or Council, you are gagg'd presently with the sense of *Parliament*; tell them the *Duke's* still the next Successor, you are muzzl'd with the *Bill of Exclusion*; forbear veiling your Bonnet to Dr. *Oats's* Gippo, and he flaps you in the teeth with a *Parliament*; condemn the Treason of this *Association*, and you are stunn'd with such an Interrogatory. Now 'tis certain that none of these things ever were the Judgment of *Parliament*: Because neither the King nor the House of Lords are ever like to be of these Opinions; and as for this Scheam of *Association*, I am perswaded the Commons themselves, never thought on such strange Resolutions, as are there intended. For as 'tis acknowledged by all that the murder of Justice Godfrey (which was as imprudent, as barbarous) made the fam'd subtilty of the Jesuit much suspected; and with a preposterous piece of Policy helped the further detection of that Plot, they thought to smother in the stream of his Blood; so 'tis as bad Politicks in our Commonwealths-men to make the *Parliament* Abettors of their proceedings, whilst it gratifies the *Papist* and their Cause much more, than that cruel and inconsiderate murder, helps to put off the thorow Examination of that *Hellish Conspiracy*; which they themselves think will never be sufficiently sifted; so that 'tis no such Paradox to say the *Jesuit* had an hand in this *Association*, as well as the *Republicans*, and that both cabal in their *Clubs* for the subverting the *State* as well as in their *Assemblies* for the ruining of the *Church*; the Consults for the one, being carried on at their *Coffee-Houses*; and for the other, at their *Conventicles*.

Thus the boldness and presumption that the factious party take, of making their house of Commons espouse, and warrant all their Licentiousness, is not only an abuse put upon the whole Gentry of the Nation, but directly destructive of those foolish Designs they think to promote by it. I know that which makes them so Impudent to slur this *Association* on that honourable Assembly are those Votes that were passed the 15th and 16th and 21th of Dec. 1680. The 15th: Ordered that a Bill be brought

brought in for an Association of all his Majesties Protestant Subjects. The 16. A Bill for uniting his Majesties Protestant Subjects to the Church of England, was read a first time; and on the 21. they address, That his Majesty would graciously be pleased to assent to an Act for enabling his Protestant Subjects, to associate themselves for the defence of his Person. Now 'tis evident by these Bills, that their intent was to make his Majesties Protestant Subjects unite themselves to the Church of England; and in order to that, to associate themselves for the Preservation of the Defender of their Faith; how far these Purposes agree with the Subverting the State, and ruining the Church, (the clear intent of this discovered Association) I submit to the determination of this grand Inquest, who perhaps may be able to reconcile the Contradiction.

Then such an Association as this would not only be derogatory from the Honour of that Assembly, but from the profest Loyalty of it too: And in God's Name what would they prove by such Arguments, and Suggestions; would they make Treason brood within those Walls, as well as within those of their City? Do they design that their Rowses, Wilmores, Whitakers, Harveys, shall be all their Members in the next Parliament? Then perhaps I may not doubt of such an Association to be carried. But that it was the design of the Parliament that sate last at London, I must beg their Pardon if I suspend my Judgment from concurring with theirs. The Relation and Acquaintance only my poor self had in it, might have made a larger Body of *Protesting Commons* than there were of *Lords at Oxford*; such as would have been very much concern'd, and trembled to have seen, the Foundations of the Government, and that of their own Walls, shaking together. And lastly such an Imputation only contradicts it self, and is quite impossible; for the very Act of drawing up such an Association as this, would have made them *de facto*, forfeit their Allegiance to their Prince; And then in a moral Sense discharge them from being their *Countries Representatives*; and they shall assoon perswade me that the same Persons that were then in the House, were at the same time in the Cellars to blow it up.

When they are driven from this hold of a Parliament; the next seeming place of Strength they fly to is that of an Association in the 27 of *Queen Elizabeth*. And indeed 'tis such a Refuge, as none but such as are put to flight out of their wits, and all in confusion would seek to shelter themselves in; for 'tis but looking on the Combination that was drawn up for the Queen's defence, and you will quickly see how weak an one it is for our Adversaries; and all the late Rebels might as well have made it their Pretence, for the drawing up their Covenants; The whole Drift of that aims at the protecting her Majesty, against all that should pretend to her Crown; and all along the Form, and Words of it seem to denote as if it were the Queens Motion, that had first given occasion for it, rather then that of her Commons. And 'tis obvious that it was done to secure her Title against the pretensions of the *Queen of Scots*, who lay then in the Tower, and within two years after, in the 29 of her Reign was beheaded. How much the Kings Preservation was intended in the late Association, I leave his Guards to determine, who had never more need of being doubled; And how much his Majesty was pleased and acquainted with it, the Loyal Nobility and honest Hearts that are about him best know, and whose Number I wish may be daily augmented. In the first Lines of the *Queens Association*, they strongly promise to defend her *Sovereignty and Supremacy*; and in this they won't allow so much as *Guards* for the Defence of the King's Person. They with joyful Hearts acknowledg her a gracious Lady, and that the Queen Reigned to their great Felicity and Comfort, and that they have received the Benefit of *Peace, Wealth, and Godly Government* under her Majesty, plentifully under her Reign, more then the Nation did under any King before.

This Assoc. with heavy Hearts considers the King as setting up *Arbitrary Government*, as Popishly affected, as *Wasting, Consuming* the Reputation, the Strength, Treasure of the Nation, and does not so much as allow his Reign to have been more Merciful than that of the late *Usurper*.

That says that with our whole Power, Bodies, Lives, and Goods, with our Children, and Servants, we will faithfully Serve, and humbly Obey, our said Sovereign Lady, against all States, Powers, and Dignities, &c.

This says that with our joynt and particular Forces, we will Oppose and Pursue unto Destruction; all that shall oppose the Just and Righteous Ends of this Association; The Ends I think follow: to raise Forces, to Obey only the sitting Parliament, or else the disbanded Members of a dissolved one.

Association;
27. in Queen
eliz. time, and
Charles 2d.
compared.

In short, all that was carried on with the *Queens Advice, Consent, and Privy*; The last Clauses of *this* sufficiently evidence his Majesties *Consent* never to be expected. That endeavoured to *support* the Crown and Dignity, This to lay both in the Dust; That *fastned* the Scepter in the *Queens Hand*, and This *plucks* it out of the *Kings*: That help't to *settle* the Foundations of the *Government*; This endeavors to *undermine* a settled one: That an *Union of Loyal Hearts*, and would have *repell'd* the strongest Invader; This an *Association of discontented ones*, and will *invite* an Enemy: That was a *Legal Combination of dutiful Subjects*; This can never be subscribed but by [*the Rebellious.*]

Another Course they take to palliate the Design, is by saying none of all this was intended to be put in Execution, in the *King's time*; But only upon his Death, to keep out the *Duke of York*. A very good Defence indeed: and won't that *D. of Y.* be as much a King then as his Royal Brother was before him? Must his Highness wait their Leisure to be plac'd in the Throne? and shall he pass for the *Peoples Heir* instead of that of the *Crown*? Is there such a diversity in Rebellion that 'tis lawful against *one Prince*, though not against *another*? Or are these new Distinctions only the Metaphysicks of Mr. *Baxter*; and the politick *Aphorisms* of his *Commonwealth*? But that this Suggestion is improbable and notoriously False, appears from this *Instrument* it self; For in it the *present King* is accused of *Arbitrary Power*; his *present Guards* now kept up, to be removed; and the *Sitting, Prorogu'd, and Dissolved Members* are to be obeyed; and also such as shall be again call'd after such *Prorogation*, and *Dissolution*.—When they are reason'd out of all their Holds, then at last they very fairly *denie*, the matter of *Fact*; and disbelieve any such *Instrument* found upon any of their Party by the *King's Witnesses*, making it all a *Sham*, and the two *Criminal* Persons that found the Paper, a couple of *perjured Villains*; But I hope they will give the World leave to believe their Testimony upon their *Oaths*: before such *Gentlemens* *Affeverations* upon nothing but *Prejudice*: And this so flatly denying the *Fact*, is like a baffled young *Sophisters* answering his Opponents *Sylogisms* with a *mentis*, instead of a *non sequitur*: Now whether the worthy Patriot was concern'd, in whole Custody 'twas found; is only between *God* and himself, and all *Mankind* is but his *Ignoramus*, only because not *Omniscient*.

[And Now] by this time I hope they are satisfied how mightily their *new Project of Association* agrees with the *old Leagues and Covenants*; and how exactly their late Transactions imitate those of the *true Protestants* in *forty one*; The recollection of which they are as much troubled at, as sick men to see themselves in a *Glass*. But sure these sort of *Protestants* may be more surpris'd to find themselves resembling *Papists* too. And instead of having drawn their late *Covenant* from the Records of *Queen Elizabeth's times*, to find it but a clear extract of the *League in France*. I am sure that *Association* of those *rebellious Papists*, those *Catholique Fanaticks* suits, better to their Purpose, than this they pretend to write by, which only contradicts them; And now we are in the Vein and Humor of drawing *Parallels* between *Covenants*, I shall give them a taste too, of that in *France* against the poor *Hugonots*, who were suspected to be favoured by the Government, just as the *Catholiques* are still here; and let these deluded Zealors see, that they tread not only in the footsteps of the *true Protestants* of *Charles the First* in *England*, but also of the *rank Papists* of *Henry the Third* in *France*, and then I hope it will make the most impudent of them blush, to find themselves transported into such *Delusions*; that whilst with so much Rage they pretend to *abhor Idols*, they not only *commit Sacrilege*, but tread in the Footsteps of those very *Idolaters*, they *abhor*.

The head of that *League* was a young *Duke*; and our *Associators* would not long have wanted one for theirs; Their youthful Leader was caress'd and flattered with hopes of a *Crown*; grown *Ambitious*, by being *Popular*, and *discontented* by *Disquiet* at Court; The *Toleration of Calvinism* was their specious *Pretence* for opposing the Government; The *Connivance at Popery* is with us at present the ground for the same *Preterensions*: The Names of *Catholicks* and *Hugonots*, were invented for discriminating Parties by the *Zealous Papist*; *Whigg*, and *Tory* are set up now, for a distinction of the Saints by our *Schismatical Pharisees*: Our late *Remonstrating and Protesting*, encouraged our *Contriver* to venture on such an *Association*; *Remonstrances*, and *Protestations* ushered in this their *Holy League*.

French holy League.

I *That they would establish Religion, the Law and Service of God in its pristine State, according to the Form and Usage of the Roman-Catholick Church.*

2. Finding that our Enemies aim to establish their Errors, we think it time to hinder their Plots and Conspiracies.

3. That if there chance to be any Opposition made by any whomsoever, all the Confederates shall employ their Lives and Fortunes for destroying them by Arms.

4. We swear by Almighty God, even to the last drop of our Blood, not to depart from this League upon any Command, Pretence, Excuse, or Occasion whatsoever.

5. We protest that if any of the Confederates be molested or troubled, all the rest shall defend him, &c.

6. We entreat of what Condition soever to assist in the Prosecution of so good and pious a Work.

Lastly. Their League was subscribed underhand, by the greatest part of the Commissioners of their Shires.

English Association.

I *Protest to maintain, and defend to the utmost of my Power, &c. the true Protestant Religion, against Popery, &c.*

2. Finding to the grief of our Hearts, the Popish Priests, and Jesuits have for many Years, pursued a most pernicious and hellish Plot, &c.

3. But by force of Arms, if need so require; Expel, and Destroy all such as shall adhere to him, or by his Command, &c. And pursue unto Destruction all such as shall oppose, &c.

4. Neither will we for Persons or Causes, Fear, or Reward, separate our selves from this Association, or fail in the prosecution thereof during Lives.

5. With our joynt and particular Forces, &c. to protect and defend all such as shall enter into the just performance, &c.

6. We have thought to propose to all true Protestants an Union amongst themselves by solemn and sacred Promise.

Lastly. This Associator swears to obey the major part of Members Subscribing this Association.

Unhappy Statesmen, whose Plots and Actions run Parallel with those of the Jesuite; and they good Men not so much as apprehensive of the great Affinity that is between them; who with full Mouths, ignorantly follow the Chase they seem to fly from; and like eager Currs now and then run a little Counter: But yet I can't chuse but smile, to see how the Faction hugs it self, when ever any learned Pen, proves the Papist at the bottom of all these Designs, which of late has been by several endeavoured; Let but one of the Regicides read such a Pamphlet, it wipes its Mouth and all is well; thinks himself no Agent, not so much as an Abettor upon the discovering this unknown Principal. Whatever Authors these are, I grant them their Assertions in some Cases may be true, and their Design pretty honest; And in God's Name, let them paint out the Conclave as black as Hell, and make their Plots as Catholique, as they would have their Religion; Let them leave not a Conventicle or Elders-house without some disguised Priest or Jesuit: Let them prove the Papists resolved the votes of Nonaddressers; and made it high Treason to Confer with their King; that it was they alone ordered the General to take Care of his Person, and call

a Council of War to draw up *His Charge*, that 'twas they passed an Act for his *Trial*, and a *Jesuit* in the Vizzard cut off his Head: Lastly that this *Association* was penned at *Rome*, and sent over to the Confederates in a *Packet-Boat*. All these things may be, but 'tis a bad Argument that they are, only because they have a Possibility of being.

But grant that there is *Great Evidence* for all this, what is the work at present of some industrious Pens to prove. These Popish instigations if plainly detected, will no more acquit our rebellious Male-contents, in a *Moral sense*, than the discovering the Person that perswades him to steal, will a Felon in *Point of Law*; and it seems to me a wild sort of *Indulgence* that the *secret Practices* of the *Romish* amongst us, should make the *Open* Rebellions of the *Phanatick Party* *Venial*. If there are *Jesuits* among them that buzz about these Elements of *Treason*, and *Sedition*; why must the Government be blamed for *Connivance*, and *Pardoning* those Villains whom they themselves protect from punishment? If a *Priest* that is *Close Shaven* shall commence a *Godly Minister*, as soon as his Locks can cover his *Ears*, must a *Field Conventicle* be pardoned when they are deluded into *Rebellion*, only because *Father Greybeard* put a trick upon them? Were they so desirous to be really rid of those Impostors, they would rather petition to have the *Laws* put in execution, than for *Moderation* and *Repealing* them. A lousie person that would willingly be rid of his troublesome *Vermine*, will be willing to suffer the trouble of scouring too; and consent to the buying a *Brush*, though it be for his own back: But these Logical heads give you a scrap of their *Heereboord* too, and talk of first taking away the *Cause*, and then all the sad *Effects* will presently vanish. Very good, and the Government is about it as fast as it can; but I am afraid were there not a *Catholique* left in the Nation, the whole Lump of *Faction* Leaven would remain still. I know a *Monarch* that denies the *Popes* Supremacy is as much in danger of being secretly stab'd by the *Jesuit*, as the *Prince* that won't comply with his Malecontents is of being Publickly butchered by the *Phanatick*; but I think it can't be collected from their Writings, that *Monarchy* it self is such a Grievance to the *Conclave*; but this I am sure that nothing but a *Commonwealth* can be gathered from the Doctrines of *Mr. Calvin*. So that though they can prove the *Pope* to have had an hand in the *Murder* of our *Royal Martyr*, I am confident it will be an harder Task to prove his *Holiness* helped up the following *Republick* too; so that this *Quere* will be the result; Whether the *Papists* got the King murdered to set up the *Pope's* Supremacy, or the *Phanaticks* to advance their own? In my Judgement those bloody Politicks were as unsuitable to the ends of the *One*, as agreeable to the Designs of the *Other*; and I should much *Distrust* the fam'd *Subtily* of the *Jesuit* if he took so preposterous a Medium for pursuing his End. Whereas I admire the *Politicks* of our *Republicans*, who could never have resolv'd on better Measures for theirs. And if *Success* can determine any thing, that darling *Success* by which they justified all their Villanies; Then let them take their own *Minion* and *Favorite* to decide the Controversie; and show whether the *Pope* was exalted here, ora *Commonwealth*. And 'tis a little improbable that the cunning *Romanist*, should have taken all this Pains, only to shew himself notoriously wicked; and let the factious Spawn of *Geneva* reap the Benefit of all their impious Labours. Well, but the *Papists* are certainly the *Teazers*, and *Towzers*, that set on a parcel of discontented People to worry the Government; And ought we not in Justice rather animadvert on those that hollow them to the Sport, than on those innocent Creatures, that only do what they are bidden? Since they are resolved to have it so, wee'll grant the Supposition; but must I spit in the Mouth of that dangerous Curr, that fell upon me? And only hang the waggish Rogue that set him on? For my part, I should think both deserved a good Cudgelling. But what if this surly Creature be chained up by the Laws, to the good behaviour? And some tenderhearted Souls, are for pitying the Confinement of this harmless Animal; for repealing of *Statutes* and slipping the Collar. Does the *Papist* do this too? and does he let him loose to spoil the *Egyptians*? I know the Tyrannies of the Church of *Rome*, which we tasted and felt in the time of *Queen Maries* Persecution, occasioned the dispersing of many sufferers into *Franck-Fort* and other parts of *Germany*; but why they were necessitated to bring back from their travels only those excellent accomplishments of *Schism* and *Sedition*, I cannot apprehend. It would be a little scandalous to our nation in Particular, as well as to the *Reformed Religion* in General, should those exiled Protestants of *France*, upon their return to their native COUNTRY have only learnt from our English to rebel.

I desire no one to take this as the least Vindication of the Papists; whom I look upon as such Latitudinarians in Religion, and Morality, as need none of their wide *Dispensations*, and *Indulgences*, to make them greater *Libertines*; such as are principl'd into greater *Villanies* (if any such there be) than were committed by our late Rebels: The intent of this Digression is only to correct those, who by *blackning* the deep Designs and *Endeavours* of *Rome* to Subvert our Government, would wash our *Rebellious Negroes white*, that *accomplish't* it. And 'tis time to give these Gentlemen a little Civil Correction, when they are those of our own Clergy that merit it; That are come to flatter the very *Schismatiques* that disturb their own Churches; As if it were only to prevent a *Second Ejectionment*, or get a *favourable Sequestration*. Amongst which sort of meal-mouth'd Sycophants, we may reckon Mr. *J. with his Daniels Den*; the *Philanglus* with his *Moderation*, and Squire *R. with his Julian Ship*: I look on such *Secret Neutrals* at present, as Dangerous, and Scandalous to the Church; As those that *openly* dissent from it; Such as do it as great disservice as the wild Gentleman that put on a *Gown*, and *Cassock*, and ran about Streets enquiring for a *Whore*: Such as han't that Kindness the Butchers Dog had for his Masters meat, no not to the Church Government under which they live and officiate; But close in with the invading Currs for a share, instead of offering to defend it. I grant *Moderation* to be many times seasonable; but not when Transgressors break the Laws most *Immoderately*: And those obstinate Antinomians from whom *Penalties* cannot extort an obedience to the Laws, are very unlikely to be persuaded with the *Lemitives* of *Indulgence* and *Toleration*: And as for the plausible Arguments they use to persuade our Church to *Condescension*; viz. because of the Dangers that threaten us from *Rome*; That sure may be a better Motive (one would think) only for their *Conformity*: When the one must be done by *repealing old Canons*, and making *new ones*; the other only by *Conforming* to those already made: The one a *yielding* of those that have the *Law of God*, and *Man*, on their side; The other of those that have *neither*, and in some sense a sort of *Out-Laws*. Neither have we any Security, these froward Gentlemen would be pleas'd, should they be *humor'd* too. The peevish Lady that makes her indulgent Lover cut off the excrescency of hair, and beard, or the superfluities of his over-grown *Mustachoes*, as Mr. *A. that Protestant Droll*, and *gifted Buffoon*, resembles our Ceremonies to; may upon the next frisk of petulancy request the poor man to flea himself alive, or lopp away a Limb. And what manner of yielding and condescension they expect, may be gather'd from the Paper of *Union* that was spread abroad at Coffee-Houses, when the Parliament sat last at *London*; to whose consideration it was design'd to be presented: An *Union* little better than that propos'd in the *Scotch Covenant*; By total Extirpation of Episcopal Government: And for Succouring the Church at present against Popery, is but a meer shamming Argument: For 'tis Evident they had rather see it ruin'd by *Turks*, or *Mahometans*, than strike one blow to prevent it. And 'tis no good Policy, for any man, though assaulted by a *Lion*, to let loose a *Bear* for his assistance: It is also a dishonest, and imprudent sort of diffidence for any to distrust the now Establish'd Government, as not able to support it self without such dangerous alliance which has once already serv'd the Church, as some Confederates have done their Neighbouring Allies, subdued those they pretended to assist.

The *Law* certainly is the greatest, and only Pillar to support the Church, and State; And it was the Observation of as Eminent a Person as ever was in it; That none ever wrestl'd with it, but in the end it infallibly broke their Necks. There was never more occasion for its vigorous Execution; And 'tis no such Tyranny as Mr. *Baxter* represents it, to punish Dissenters with a Prison, when some of them have been willing to croud thither, only to make up a Conventicle; perverting the very *Penalties* of the Law, to a further opportunity of *breaking* it; and making that subservient to the *Crime*, which was intended to *correct* it. This Animadversion on our Dissenters, and their Advocates, is both pertinent to this Discourse, and favourable to those it reflects on: The one, because 'tis certain their Faction is concern'd in this *Association*. The other, because such offenders deserve to be more severely handled.

And now you shall see the Disparity between a *True Patriot*, and a *Factionous Associator*; the difference there is betwixt one that truly Loves his Country, and him that only pretends it.

A *True Patriot*, will endeavor the *Peace* and *Quietness* of the Kingdom wherein he Lives; and if he sits at Helm, will so steer the Bark, that it may sail securely in the midst of the greatest danger; neither split on the Rocks that threaten it on one side; Or running into the Quick-sand, that would cast her away on the other; will endeavour to preserve the Nation from the *Popery* we fear, and from the *Fanaticism* we have felt: One that has help to make it flourish in Peace and Plenty this *Twenty Years*; And will endeavour to keep it in the same Prosperity still. One, that will with Equal Courage resist an *English Rebellion*, that he would a *Spanish Invasion*: That won't endeavour to satisfy every discontented grumbler; but remove all real motives to complaint and murmuring: That will keep to the Rules of *Law*, and Justice, as the best means to keep the *Peace* too: Free from all Passion and Interest; and so can neither trouble the Kingdom, by the *Turbulency* of the one; or defraud it by the *Temptations* of the other.

A *Factionous Associator*, makes it his business to disturb the Country wherein he Lives, with as much Fear and Jealousie, as Thought can suggest, or Malice invent; for 'tis *Quietness* and *Peace* that makes him idle and without Employ: 'Tis a sort of *Sea-Monster*, that shows himself most before a Storm; And endeavors to *overset* that Ship, which he is not Capacitated to *Steer*. His Eyes are set on the *Publicque Ministers of State*, not to pry into their *Actions*, but murder their *Reputations*: Not to search them like an *Eagle*, but to sacrifice them like a *Basilisk*. 'Tis a *State Cannibal* that delights in blood; and triumphs in the Miseries of a Civil War. One that makes *Religion* a pretence for *Rebellion*; Though as empty of the one, as brim full of the other. One that would flush himself in the Spoils of a *New War*; though glutted almost with the blood that was shed in the *Old*. 'Tis the *varified Chameleon*, That out-does the *natural* one; feeds not so much as upon *Air*, But only *Popular breath*: Sets the Nation all in *Combustion*; and then like a *secure Salamander*, lives in the flame. One that seems *Hells Purveyor*, and like the *Devil* makes his *Covenanting Imps* subscribe their Contracts in their own blood: That sails securely by tacking about with Wind, and Tide; and exposes the Government to be *shatter'd* in the Tempest: That talks of nothing but the *Consumption* of the Body *Politick*; only because his *Natural* one pines with discontent.

The one will with an earnest, even anxious solicitation of mind, seek to reconcile the jarring hearts of Subjects to their Lawful Prince; Let them understand the goodness and equity of the merciful King that governs; will help his *gracious Monarch*, to make all manner of good impression on his *Subjects*; and give his people all imaginable satisfaction; will persuade them to acquiesce with his Majesty's reasons for dissolving an old Parliament, and his Gracious promises for calling a new one; that will thank him for such kind Assurances and Declaration; and not extenuate so gracious an action, with a talk of *Oath* and *Obligation*; will open the blind eyes of the deluded *Rabble*, and take away the Veil of Popularity, that blinds the discontented great.

The other pursues with the greatest aggravation, the least slip in the Government, stirs up Jealousies and Animosities between King and People, to prevent the *Reconciliation* that would otherwise ensue; for then the little Artifices he uses to foment Sedition would be illuded; and his Engines of Rebellion, *Libels*, *Associations*, *Remonstrances*, would grow rusty, and useless: He is bound in prudence to make the *Peoples Cause* his *Own*; and for his security, to be guarded by his Whiffers the *Rabble*; is grieved and afflicted, when the King comforts his People; perverts the best things, to the worst sense; daubs and disfigures all with his *Colours*, which is like to wipe off the pretence and Varnish of his Cause; cavils at the Declaration of his Prince, because intended to satisfy the People; proves the Parliament *unreasonably* dissolved, because the King gives good reason for it; makes the Nation believe it shall never see another, when the

he Declaration promises the *contrary*; but yet thinks fit to extort it from the King by Petition, for fear it should pass otherwise for his *Gracious* action; deludes the silly *Mobile*, with expectations of being *great*, and persuades the *Nobility*, they are not truly so without a *Popular* greatness.

The *one* is for the *uniting* the people in *affection* and *charity*, if he can't obtain it in *Perswasion* and *Religion*, won't multiply foes by *Suspicion*, or create dangers out of a *Panick* fear; one that will never hugg a *Popish* Plot as tenderly as the *Nursing-Father* of it, a *Jesuit*; No such *Ambidexter*, as to make a *Bugbear* and *Darling* of the same thing, and both equally subservient to his purpose; No such *mimical Ape*, as with *distorting*, *squinting* looks, ridicules every thing in his *countenance*, that does not suit with his froward *Genius*: He is a perfect piece of *sincerity*, and never makes a *Juglers-box* of his *Conscience*, swallowing down *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, and bringing up nothing but *Treasonable Covenants* and *Associations*; like those *Impostors* that are seen to let down but *harmless Tape*, and *Ribband*, yet disgorge *Knives*, and *Daggers*. He will submit to the *Lawful Authority* of the *State*, and conform to the constant *Discipline* of the *Church*; will with an awful respect look upon the *Crown*, and pay his due reverence to the *Mitre*; will oppose the *Toleration* of *all Religion*, as the ready way to have *none*; He will *truly* stand up for the *Liberty* of the *Subject*, and not make it a *pretence* to *enslave* them; One that will *trust* his *Prince* with *Money*, for the support of his *Crown* and *Dignity*, and *allow* him a competent *Guard*, for the preservation of his *Person*; One that will *swear Allegiance* to *none*, but his *King*; And lastly, never out of fear of a *contingent* danger, will raise a *present* War for altering *Succession*.

The *other* is so far from *reconciling* differences in *Religion*, that he can hardly admit of a good opinion of any, not of his own *sentiments*; transubstantiates his *Sword of the Spirit*, into that of *Steel*; and makes his *Church* truly *Militant*, by being in *Arms*; *crys* down the *Plot*, at the same time he makes it *support* his *Cause*; Pulls at the *Tripple Crown* with *one* hand, and the *King's Scepter* with the *other*: The *Protestant Virtuoso*, that views the slips of *Government* in a *Microscope*; and so magnifies the *biting* of a *Flea*, to the *pinching* of a *Lobster*; And for his transubstantiating of *Metals*, and *Chymical knacks*, exceeds the *Dutch Van Helmont*, or our *English Boyle*; with a little *Panegyrick* can *Sublime* a *knave* to the very *Quintessence* of *honesty*; and then with one *drop* of the venom of his tongue, *debase* him to the worst of *villains*; Can devour a *Test*, and belch up a *Remonstrance*; So refractory an *Animal* as to oppose the *Government* in all its actions, and the *Church* in every *Canon* and *Constitution*; Instead of *respecting* the *Crown*, *tramples* it under feet: Makes the countenancing *Dissenters*, an expedient for suppressing *Popery*; And the *rooting* out of *Superstition*, the means of *introducing* *Schism*, and *Division*; Makes the *Liberty* of the *Subject* a pretence to *depose* the *Prince*, and *enslave* the *People*; And is only for *repealing* the *Laws*, that he himself may be the greater *Libertine*, and rebel with a *License*; Is for removing those terrible *Guards*, because they *preserve* his Majesty's *Person*, and loves to keep his *Prince* *poor*, out of hopes to make him *contemptible*; Instead of acknowledging the *King's* *Supremacy*, swears to *obey Members*, and fellow *Subjects*; Out of dread of a *future* alteration in the *Church*, will make a *present* change in the *State*; And will *actually* raise War against the right *Heir* of the *Crown*, only because he can't very *formally* dis-inherit him.

And now because the *D.* gives this *Associator* all his pretences for such a *Treasonable Combination*; I shall in *this very Case* prove him but a *disguis'd Patriot*; and that the *Mediums* he has propos'd to himself, demonstrate him rather a *Barbarous Hun*, than a true *Roman Brutus*; A *cruel Scourge* to his *Country*, more than a *tender Lover* of it. And first for those reasons of *State*, and *Self-preservation*, which he would have to warrant this total *Exclusion*, expelling and destroying his *Highness*: (saving the respect I bear to the *Author* and his *politick Noddle*) I think they may pass rather for *Proverbial Sentences*, and *expressions* of

of private resentment, than Maxims of true Policy; and Aphorisms of undoubted truth for the *Countries* good; For though I never much consulted Mr. *Baxter's Holy Common-wealth*, or *William Pryn's Popish Royal Favorite*; Yet I can't think the destroying the *One* must be warrantable, because we have a mind to set up the *Other*; Or that a *Popish Successor* must be ruin'd, for the *establishing* a *Republick*; neither can I understand why this exclusion, must be Judg'd such an absolute demonstration of a mans Love to his Countrey; so meritorious a piece of Piety; That it can not only expiate for all the blood, murder and devastation, which may be the consequences; but justify this very villanous *Associator*, in endeavouring to exclude him by *himself*; Or the assistance of his Confederates, without the suppos'd legal process, of an Act of *Parliament*. Certainly he is not to be esteem'd a prudent adviser for his *Countries* good, that *only means* well to it; That advises a good thing, but such as would have the unhappy concomitancy of a greater *ill*. If they make the *Parliament* the sole Arbitrators of the publick good; I mean those whom they commonly take for it, the Lower House: yet they are not (under favour) to transcribe their sentiments into practice, and resolve on expelling that by force, which their *Representatives* could not obtain by request. If they are Commenc'd already such Casuistical Libertines; Then the *present* establishment of Church and State, is to me as much a Miracle, as ever was the *Restoring* it. And on the same ground they may muster up their Train-Bands, march to *Whitehall*, reform the Council with the push of Pike; from thence to *Westminster*, and cudgel those Arbitrary Judges into better understanding of the Laws; And then back with some Captain *Hickeringill* to *Doctors Commons*; and blow up all the Enemies to *Naked Truth*, or teach them at least to keep their Ecclesiastical Courts in better order; And all these things very lawful, because under consideration of the Parliament. I know the dis-inheriting the D. with a *Bill* of Exclusion will by many be thought a *pretty* sort of *Expedient*; But the destroying him without one, must by all, be counted a *Damnable Rebellion*; must involve the Nation in Blood; Purple agen her Rivers with the Slain, and make our wretched Isle seem to float once more in her red Sea; Expose the poor Subject to the merciless Sword; and all the Miseries of a Civil War. And now Quære Whether this *Associator's* Love to his King, or his Countrey out-weigh each other by so much as a grain? The very *dis-inheriting* him with a *Bill*, may have Consequences bad enough; how much more then the *resisting* him without? An Excluded Prince, though with form of Justice, will find Adherents. One would think these *bad Politicians*, should be *worse Historians* too; And not so much as have consulted the Chronicles of their *own* Nation; which has already miserably felt, and that *more* than once, the Bloody Consequences of a debar'd Right. Of which unhappy *Wounds*, the reproaching *Scars* upbraid us to our *very* Faces, each to this *very* day; I hope Parallels in *Discourse* need not be so Mathematical as those in *Geometry*: And though I can't give an instance of a Duke of York that was *Excluded* from his Right; yet it may suffice, if I tell you of one that after much Blood *recover'd* it. There has been a *Parliament* that has Excluded the right Line, to make way for a pretended one; depos'd their *King*, and accepted an *Usurper*, (not to mention the more Barbarous Proceedings of later Times, when they murder'd a *Mighty Monarch*, and made an *Arch-Rebel* mount the Throne.) We had before that a Prince *Depos'd* with as much Authority of Parliament as this can be *Debar'd*: We had one at *least* of the *House of York* Voted out of his Throne, but yet (as if Vengeance which is said to follow lamely, had mended her pace) 'tis observable, That only Three *Lancasters*, the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth *Henry* successively Reign'd, and maintain'd the Usurpation; Of which one was a *Month* too; and all the dear Conquests was by the *latter* of these quite lost, which had been bought by so much Blood by the *former*: And the very Crown too Voted on the Head of an *Excluded Duke of York*; And the then present King only Complemented with a *durante vita*; and the bare formality of wearing it: I have so little Kindness for *Enthusiasm*, or *Superstition*, That I lay but small stress on the jingling Homonymie, or agreeable sound of the names; Neither looking on them as Ominous or Prophetick: Though I believe would they make for
some

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some peoples turns, they would be better weigh'd, and sifted; made use of as presages, and fore-bodings of good Success; whereas we only see it had a very bad one. I confess they have an Argument *new* for altering the Succession, which they wanted then; viz. the *different persuasion in Religion*; whereas they Depos'd Richard the Second only for a pretended unworthiness, unprofitableness, and insufficiency: But yet I think the *contingent* danger of parting with our Reform'd Religion, can never warrant a certain involving the Nation in the Miseries of a Civil War. I conceive, if we are Christians, 'tis no such absurd thing to rely upon Providence too: And though this *Associator* makes Queen Marys Case such an absolute Argument of Popery being introduc'd; I must beg leave to observe to him his posterous Logick and Reasoning, to be but proving an *absolute* and *universal* Position, from a *single*, and *particular* instance; And those Laws then Enacted had never so many *Proviso's* against the introducing that Religion, as perhaps His Majesty would have yielded to, had they but accepted of those Gracious Tenders for *Limiting the Successor*. I know the plausible Argument is carried on very smoothly; and slips in with a whole heap of Syllogisms; *If a Popish Prince, then a Popish Council; If a Popish Council, then sure Popish Bishops; If Popish Bishops, then the Popish Mass too.* But I can tell them of a more Experienc'd sort of *Sorites*, a sadder heap of Argumentation; And already prov'd by frequent Induction; *If we find a Faction City, then a Faction Sheriff; If a Faction Sheriff, then a Faction Jury; If a Faction Jury, then all the Faction Fellows are acquitted.* I confess they have made the Argument pretty *strong*, by showing themselves the *Butterfies* to support it.

But what if I should barr the necessity of these *Conclusions* from the *Premises*, I think I should be very *Civil* to *Them*, and *Just* to the Case of the *Successor*. Suppose if from this *Faction City*, the King should take his *Gracious Charter*; The City may be *Faction* still; *without a Sheriff, without a Jury, without the fearful Lirry* of many such unhappy Consequences. And then with *Reasonable* men there is always the same *reason* for Contraries; Suppose if from a *Popish Prince* there is so much of Prerogative taken away, as when parted with, will put him out of a capacity of imposing his Religion on his Subjects; He may still be the same *Popish Prince*; *without Popish Council, without Popish Bishops, and without their Popish Mass and Religion being obtruded on the Nation.* And these sort of Expedients have been as *Graciously* tender'd, as *strangely* rejected; And our careful Patriots not being able *thoroughly* (as they call it) to secure us, and the Nation by a *Total Exclusion*, in Kindness, and order to its Preservation, will accept of *no Mediums* at all: If this be the best Politicks of this Age, I fancy the ador'd *Matchiarvi* and the Writings of the best Statesmen are unhappily lost, or little consulted. But as for the deep Design, and Hellish Contrivance of this *Associator*, no doubt they are Politick Measures, and Zealous Endeavours for his Countreys good; The putting it all in a *Flame*, no doubt will purge off all the *Dross* of Superstition, and Idolatry; and leave nothing behind it of *Arbitrary Power*, besides the *Tyranny* of the *refined* holy Common-wealth. And this is the Drift of this disguised *Associator* and pretended *Patriot*; This *Religious State-Bully*, That can cheat the Nation with the *Masque* of Holyness, and meer *Vizard* of Piety, and make Three Zealous Kingdoms *devoutly* perish, even in working out their own *Salvation*.

If it be objected I have made too wide Inferences; And that such an *Association* may not have all those bad Consequences we seem to dread from its being carried on; I desire such Gentlemen to consider, That there is no Villany but may be comprehended Lawful under such a Specious Pretence; And when the old *Covenants* were sworn to, some of the very Subscribers never imagin'd they would have prov'd such *Flood-Gates of Hell*, and let in such a *deluge* of *Impiety, Treason, and Sacrilege*. And what less can be expected from such a Combination at this

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* In the Answer to the Kings Declaration.

† Mr. A. in his mischief of Impositions.

time, Than the Subversion of Church, and State? when they are come to * fancy Statute Laws insignificant, unless the very Rabble set up for the sole Magistrates and Legislators; And all Ecclesiastical Canons, Rites and Ceremonies; The meer Fopperies of Rome, and as a sort of superfluous Excrescencies † of hair, and beard. And what other way is there left for the stopping these Sluces of Rebellion, and Schism; But by guarding the Churches Vine from the Wild Boar of the Forrest; And defending our Royal Oak from being again cut down with an Ax? This alone can supersede the sad Completion of the Parable of Trees; Keep the Fire from coming out of the Brambles, and devouring the Cedars of Lebanon.

FINIS.
